

PROCLAMATION
OCTOBER 22, 1802

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Emancipation Proclamation

Preliminary Proclamation
September 22, 1862

Excerpts from newspapers and other
sources

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EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, On the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing among other things the following, to wit:

That, on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth and forever free, and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people therein respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto, at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United States, and as a fit

necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day of the first above-mentioned order, and designate, as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereto respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans. Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward, shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the President: ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT EXPLAINING THE
EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

The following letter, written in August, 1863, in answer to an invitation to attend a meeting of unconditional Union men held in Illinois, gives at length the President's views at that time on his Emancipation Proclamation:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 26th, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter inviting me to attend a mass-meeting of unconditional Union men, to be held at the capitol of Illinois on the third day of September, has been received. It would be very agreeable to me to thus meet my old friends at my own home, but I can not just now be absent from this city so long as a visit there would require. The meeting is to be of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union; and I am sure my old political friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the nation's gratitude to those other noble men whom no partisan malice or partisan hope can make false to the nation's life. There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To such I would say, You desire peace, and you blame me that you do not have it. But how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways: First, to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we are agreed. If you are not for it, a second way is to give up the Union. I am against this. If you are, you should say so, plainly. If you are not for force, nor yet for dissolution, there only remains some imaginable compromise. I do not believe

that any compromise, embracing the maintenance of the Union, is now possible. All that I learn leads to a directly opposite belief. The strength of the rebellion is its military—its army. The army dominates all the country and all the people within its range. Any offer of any terms made by any man or men within that range, in opposition to that army, is simply nothing for the present, because such man or men have no power whatever to enforce their side of a compromise, if one were made with them. To illustrate: Suppose refugees from the South and peace men of the North get together in convention, and frame and proclaim a compromise embracing a restoration of the Union; in what way can that compromise be used to keep General Lee's army out of Pennsylvania? General Meade's army can keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania, and, I think, can ultimately drive it out of existence. But no paper compromise, to which the controllers of Lee's army are not agreed, can at all affect that army. In an effort at such compromise we would waste time, which the enemy would improve to our disadvantage, and that would be all. A compromise, to be effective, must be made either with those who control the rebel army, or with the people, first liberated from the domination of that army by the success of our army. Now, allow me to assure you that no word or intimation from the rebel army, or from any of the men controlling it, in relation to any peace compromise, has ever come to my knowledge or belief. All charges and intimations to the contrary are deceptive and groundless. And I promise you that if any such proposition shall hereafter come, it shall not be rejected and kept secret from you. I freely acknowledge myself to be the servant of the people, according to the bond of service, the United States Constitution, and that, as such, I am responsible to them. But, to be plain: You are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while you, I suppose, do not. Yet I have neither adopted nor proposed any measure which is not consistent with even your view, provided you are for

the Union. I suggested compensated emancipation; to which you replied that you wished not to be taxed to buy negroes. But I have not asked you to be taxed to buy negroes, except in such way as to save you from greater taxation, to save the Union exclusively by other means.

You dislike the Emancipation Proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently: I think that the Constitution invests the Commander-in-Chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said, if so much, is, that the slaves are property. Is there—has there ever been—any question that, by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it helps us, or hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they can not use it; and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female. But the proclamation, as law, is valid, or is not valid. If it is not valid, it needs no retraction; if it is valid, it can not be retracted, any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think that its retraction would operate favorably for the Union. Why better after the retraction than before the issue? There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation was issued, the last one hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming, unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before. I know as fully as one can know the opinion of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important victories, believe the emancipation policy and the aid of colored troops to be the heaviest blows yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of these important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders

holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called abolitionism or with "Republican party politics," but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit their opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections often urged, that emancipation and arming the blacks are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith. You say that you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem to be willing to fight for you—but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively, to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare that you will not fight to free negroes. I thought that, in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers, leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do any thing for us if we will not do any thing for them? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And, the promise being made, must be kept. The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great North-west for it. Not yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The Sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a hand. On the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great national one, and let none be blamed who bore an honorable part in it; and, while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that any thing has been more bravely or better done than at Antietam, Murfreesboro', Gettysburg, and on many fields of less note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web-fleet be forgot-

ten. At all the waters' margins they have been present—not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou; and, wherever the ground was a little damp, they have been, and made their tracks. Thanks to all. For the great republic—for the principles by which it lives and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all. Peace does not appear so far distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay; and so come as to be worth keeping in all future time. It will then have proved that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And then there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation; while I fear that there will be some white men unable to forget that, with malignant heart and deceitful speech, they have striven to hinder it. Still, let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in His own good time, will give us the rightful result.

Yours, very truly, A. LINCOLN.

PROCLAMATION OF ANDREW JACKSON.

The President of the United States to the nullifiers of South Carolina:

WHEREAS, A convention assembled in the State of South Carolina have passed an ordinance, by which they declare, "that the several acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities, and now having actual operation and effect within the United States, and more especially," two acts for the same purposes passed on the 29th of May, 1828, and on the 14th of July, 1832, "are unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null and void, and no law," nor binding on the citizens of that State or its officers; and by the said ordinance, it is further declared to be unlawful for any of the constituted authorities of the State or of the United States to enforce the payment of the duties imposed by the said acts with the same State, and that it is the duty of the Legislature to pass such laws as may be necessary to give full effect to the said ordinance:

AND, WHEREAS, By the said ordinance, it is further ordained that in no case of law or equity decided in the courts of said State, wherein shall be drawn in question the validity of the said ordinance, or of the acts of the Legislature that may be passed to give it effect, or of the said laws of the United States, no appeal shall be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, nor shall any copy of the record be permitted or allowed for that purpose; and that any person attempting to take such appeal shall be punished as for a contempt of court:

And, finally, the said ordinance declares that the people of South Carolina will maintain the said ordinance at every

THE GREAT EVENT OF THE AGE!

NEGRO EMANCIPATION PROCLAIMED!

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 1, 1863.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A P R O C L A M A T I O N.

Whereas, on the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1862, a Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit :

That on the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth and forever free, and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them in any effort they may make for their actual freedom: that the Executive will on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people therein respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members—chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated—shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.

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Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure, do, on this first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans; Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and part of States, are, and henceforward shall be free, and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons; and I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence. And I recommend to them in all cases when allowed to labor faithfully for reasonable wages, and I further direct and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service. And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Dono at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

(Signed)

By the President.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD. Secretary of State.

Published and Sold by A. J. HAYNES, at the Periodical and Variety Store, 55 State st., Newburyport.

EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

TUESDAY EVENING, SEPT. 23, 1862.

A FREE REPUBLIC!

PROCLAMATION

BY

PRESIDENT LINCOLN,

FOR THE

EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES

In all Rebellious States.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—A PROCLAMATION.

I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed; that it is my purpose at the next meeting of Congress to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all the Slave States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolition of slavery within their respective limits, and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent, or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the Government existing there, will be continued; that on the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free, and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom; that the Executive will, on the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States or parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any State or people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof have not been in rebellion against the United States; that attention is hereby called to an act of Congress, entitled "an act to make an additional article of war," approved March 13, 1862, and which act is in the words and figure following:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war for the government of the army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:—

"Article.— All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor, who may have escaped from any persons to whom

such service or labor is claimed to be due, and any officer who shall be found guilty by court martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

Section 2d. "And be it further enacted that this act shall take effect from and after its passage";

Also to the 9th and 10th sections of an act entitled "An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes, approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:

"Section 9. And be it further enacted, that all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons, and taking refuge within the lines of the army, and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them and coming under the control of the Government of the United States, and all slaves of such persons found on or being within any place occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captures of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

Section 10. And be it further enacted, that no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any of the States, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due, is his lawful owner, and has not been in arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States, to observe, obey and enforce within their respective spheres of service the acts and sections above recited; and the Executive will, in due time, recommend that all citizens of the United States, who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion, shall, upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if the relations shall have been suspended or disturbed, be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1862, and of the independence of the United States the 87th.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

SERENADE TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Washington, 21st. A large crowd assembled at the Executive mansion tonight, on the occasion of a serenade to President Lincoln. Having been cheered and called for, he appeared at an upper window and spoke as follows:

Fellow Citizens: I appear before you to do little more than acknowledge the courtesy you pay me, and to thank you for it. I have not been distinctly informed why it is on this occasion you appear to do me this honor, though I suppose (interruptions) it is because of the Proclamation. (Cries of "good," and applause.) I was about to say, I suppose I understand it. (Laughter. Voice—"That you do; you thoroughly understand it.") What I did, I did after very full deliberation and under a very heavy and solemn sense of responsibility. (Cries of "good." "God bless you." Applause.)

I can only trust in God I have made no mistake. (Cries, "No mistake—all right." "You've made no mistakes yet—go ahead, you're right.") I shall make no attempt on this occasion to sustain what I have done or said by any comment. (Voices—"That's unnecessary—we understand it.") It is now for the country and the world to pass judgement on it, and may be take action upon it. I will say no more upon this subject. In my position I am environed with difficulties—(a voice—"that's so")—yet they are scarcely so great as the difficulties of those who upon the battlefield are endeavoring to purchase with their blood and their lives the future happiness and prosperity of this country. (Applause, long and continued.) Let us never forget them.

On the 1st and 17th days of this month there have been battles bravely, skilfully and successfully fought. [Applause.] We do not yet know the particulars. Let us be sure that in giving praise to particular individuals we do no injustice to others. I only ask you at the conclusion of these few remarks to give three hearty cheers to all the good and brave officers and men who fought those successful battles.

Cheer after cheer was given, when the President bade the crowd good night and withdrew.

The procession then proceeded to the residence of Secretary Chase. After being cheered, he appeared upon the steps. Several voices called for gashlight, to which request he said he was afraid all the light this assemblage would have this evening would be the light reflected from the great act of the President. (Cheers.) He understood they had just paid their respects to the Chief Magistrate of the Republic, and to thank him for having issued a proclamation which will find a response in the hearts of the American people. No one, he said, can rejoice more sincerely in the belief that the judgment you have expressed will be the judgment of the entire people of the United States. (Cries of "Yes," and applause.) I am better accustomed to work than to speak. I love acts better than words. (Voices—"That's so"—"That you do"—"You've shown it.")

But nothing has ever given me more sincere pleasure than to say Amen to this last great act of the chief magistrate. (To the "Amen" there was a warm and spontaneous response by the crowd.) It is the dawn of a new era; and although the act was performed from an imperative sense of duty, qualified by a military emergency which gave him power to perform it, it is, nevertheless, though baptized in blood, an act of humanity and justice. Latest generations will celebrate it. (A voice—"The whole world")

Yes, said Secretary Chase, the whole world will pay honor to the man who executed it. If it were necessary to say another word, it is this: The time has come when all jealousies and divisions, all personal sins and aspirations, should be banished, so that united we may all stand by the integrity of the Republic. Let him have the most of our approbation and applause and confidence who does the most, whether in the field or in the Cabinet, for his country. Dismissing all the past, let us look to the future, and henceforth let there be no dissension. Let us do nothing but work for the country, which God in his providence has called upon us to do.

The above is nearly the substance of Secretary Chase's remarks, which were applauded throughout.

Cassius M. Clay was the next speaker. In the course of his remarks he expressed his thankfulness that the time had come when the line had been unmistakably drawn between freedom and slavery, and when the principles declared in 1776 were boldly enunciated. The right was always expedient, and hence he was gratified beyond utterance in the issuance of the President's proclamation. The man who did not stand by it was a traitor. For the first time there was a proclamation in behalf of down-trodden humanity. It would find its way all over the South, everywhere, liberating all the oppressed of both races in this country.

He anticipated good effects from it in Europe, for no man there dare stand up in defense of slavery; but to make the proclamation effective we must all work by the means of our armies now contending against an aristocracy which finds sympathy in Europe among those who hate a republican government. In the conclusion of his remarks, which were somewhat prolonged, Mr. Clay united in the prayer of Horace Greeley: "God bless Abraham Lincoln."

Attorney General Bates was also the recipient of a serenade, and made a few remarks expressive of his thanks for the compliment bestowed.

"Perley" telegraphs to the Journal as follows:

The audience to the serenade to the President tonight was the largest ever seen here, and included many officers and soldiers, who joined heartily in applauding Mr. Lincoln and Secretary Chase.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROCLAMATION.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune says:

"Now and then the remark is heard that the President has been driven into the policy of emancipation by outside clamor, a most preposterous statement. For nearly a year Mr. Lincoln is known to have had the question of slavery, in its connection with the rebellion, under his most thoughtful and deliberate consideration.

Within the last few months, perceiving the great progress which public opinion was making, he has given still closer attention to the question, has invoked counsel from all directions, and has looked to Providence for guidance to the true solution of the great problem which, as he told the deputation from the religious men of Chicago, was in his thoughts night and day. A number of weeks since, he was, as we telegraphed you a week ago, on the point of issuing a proclamation which fixed the first of December as the day of Emancipation, and was only dissuaded at that time from doing so by the strong opposition of two members of his Cabinet. This statement has been denied, but it is substantially true.

The proclamation now issued is an improvement in several material respects upon the rejected one. It was written on Sunday, and was laid before the Cabinet at an extraordinary meeting yesterday. Every member, with perhaps a single exception in the person of Postmaster-General Blair, agreed to it, and will give it his hearty support. All accepted it cheerfully as indicating the adoption of a policy which they had long been urging. It is to be added that the proclamation is the President's own work, written without consultation, not altered, or, if altered at all, very slightly, at or after the Cabinet meeting, and published to the world within forty-eight hours of its composition."

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION. The Baltimore American comments upon the President's Freedom Proclamation as follows:

We have long ago expressed the conviction that slavery in this country is doomed, and the advent of this proclamation we can scarcely consider, under the circumstances, as hastening its fate. Perfectly mad as the cotton States were in challenging a conflict for its extension, the ferocious spirit they have shown in the fight has, little by little, lost them the sympathies of the world at large; until left alone as its special champions, and inadequate to sustain a much longer struggle, it would have perished, ultimately, whether the Executive had moved in the matter in the way he has seen fit to do or not.

And as to its effects upon the institution in the border States, it is not at all problematical. If Virginia or North Carolina become free States by the terms of the proclamation, the exemption resulting to Maryland is of no practical value whatever. With free States on both sides of her, who would care to own negroes here? and what possible advantage would we have over those obnoxious to the terms of the President's manifesto in other States? As the matter stands even at present, negro property here has become so uncertain in its tenure that in many portions of our commonwealth they are as good as free already.

13, Worcester, Sept 26, 1862

FROM CALIFORNIA.

P. T. — Sept. 27, 1862
The Emancipation Proclamation
Endorsed by the Press.

San Francisco, 25th. The quantity of goods going into the interior is very large. Domestic liquors are offering at a decline; sales of pure spirits at 40 cents per gallon. Coal \$19-\$20 per ton. Coal oil 70c per gallon. Batter 26c per lb. Candles 18½c per lb. Dried apples 12c per quart. Wool—Sales of fall clip at 23½c.

President Lincoln's proclamation to emancipate the slaves is commented on favorably by the press generally. The leading journals heartily endorsing his policy.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. Mr Forney, in his last letter to the Philadelphia Press, from Washington, writes as follows:

So far as I can ascertain, many of the most distinguished officers in the Army and Navy are known either to have endorsed it (President Lincoln's Proclamation), since its appearance, or to have expected and asked for it. Of these, I feel free to name Generals Hooker, Banks, Wadsworth, H. Huntzschlen, Siegel, Jno. A. McClellan, Jno. A. Logan, Sickles, Meagher, and, of course, Generals Hunter, Butler and Phelps. In the Navy, Admiral Dupont is authoritatively quoted among the earnest advocates of the policy of Emancipation; and so also of the gallant old seaman, now in command of the United States Naval Asylum at Philadelphia, Commander Joseph Eingle. There is a large class of regular officers in both branches of the service who are expected to oppose the Proclamation, and among these Gen. McClellan is boldly named. Happily, however, I have the best reason for knowing that these officers will disappoint this treasonable hope. Whatever their opinions may be, they will fearlessly obey the acts of Congress, and stand by the Executive in enforcing these acts. There is, besides, a class of public men, not in the army, and not Republicans, who give the proclamation their warm, cordial, and grateful sanction. These are Governor Tod, Judge Jewett, and, it is said, William Allen, of Ohio; Dickinson, Tremain, and Busteed, of New York; and the well-known independent Democrats in Pennsylvania, of whom Judge Shannon of Pittsburg, Judge Champneys of Lancaster, and the Muhlenbergs of Berks, are specimens.

B. T. A. - Sept 20, 1862.



BOWLING GREEN, SATURDAY EVE, October 4th, 1862.

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

President Lincoln's Proclamation.

WASHINGTON, September 22, 1862.

I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the WAR will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the Constitutional relations between the United States and the People thereof, in which States that relation is or may be disturbed or suspended. That it is my purpose on the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all the Slave States, so-called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted or may thereafter voluntarily adopt the immediate or gradual abolition of Slavery within their respective limits; and that the efforts to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon the continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the Governments existing there, will be continued.

That, on the 1st of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, all persons held as Slaves within any State or any designated parts of States, the people whereof shall be in Rebellion against the United States, shall be thenceforward and forever free, and the Executive Government of the United States, including the Military and Naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States or parts of States, if any there be, the people whereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any part of any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the U. S. by members, citizens thereof, chosen thereto at an election wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall in the absence of strong countervailing testimony be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof have not been in rebellion against the United States.

Attention is hereby called to an Act of Congress entitled an Act making an additional article of WAR, approved the 13th of March, 1862.

(Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

Wm. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

[Note.—As every one is familiar with the Act of Congress referred to, we omit it, giving merely the words of the Proclamation.—PRINTER.]

HOW THE REBELS RECEIVE THE PROCLAMATION. The next three months will test the firmness, the nerve, of the Administration, as it has never been tested before. The President has issued the Proclamation of Emancipation, which is to go into effect on the 1st of January next. There were those who fancied that it would be utterly without effect upon the rebels; that they would feel themselves so secure behind the bayonets of their armies, so confident of the willing obedience of their slaves and of their power to enforce obedience among them, if necessary, that they would only laugh at the Proclamation as an impotent menace, and at the President for thus sitting as Giant Pope in Pilgrim's Progress sat, "grinning and biting his nails" at the pilgrims who went by in safety, — to the unfeeling effect of it

Others have said that the only effect of it would be to make the rebels issue an edict of immediate emancipation, in order to forestall us, and save for themselves the power which emancipation is sure to bring in this struggle to him who confers it. But we have never seen any likelihood of either of these things; and though it is too soon to speak positively of results, yet thus far the manner in which the rebels have received the proclamation indicates neither result, but the contrary. So far from being received with indifference, or with "tous de laughter," as the proclamation calling out 75,000 men was received by them, it has been the signal for a burst of rage which will be remarkable in history. Every rebel newspaper exploded into curses and threats. The fountains of Bithingsgate could not flow freely enough for them, but choked up from the fullness of their rage. The subject was immediately brought up also in the rebel Congress, and a resolution offered that retaliation be at once resorted to, in order "to secure its withdrawal or arrest its execution."

And so far from turning their thoughts toward emancipation, they have thus far only breathed out threatenings and slaughter, not only against us but also against the slaves. Their thoughts have turned to extermination instead of counter emancipation. These threats of retaliation will, as we said, test the firmness of the Administration's nerve; and if we were to judge of the future by the past, we should fear that they would be too much for it. How was it with the pri-

vateers? We tried them for violations of the law. They had all their rights secured to them, and were legally convicted before a jury of their countrymen. The rebels resorted to retaliation, as they called it; that is, without form or ceremony, they threw our gallant men into dungeons and threatened to kill them if the just sentence of the law was executed on our part.

Instead of seizing retaliation as really our weapon to meet their threat and overpower it, the Administration left it in the hands of the rebels, and finally yielded the point, released convicted felons from the fate which justly awaited them, and gave them into the hands of their rejoicing fellows. We can understand the feelings which led the Administration to do so. The entreaties of friends are hard to resist and they carried the day; but it may well be that tender-heartedness was mistaken and has been the cause, in the long run, of more suffering and misery than a sterner policy would have produced.

The same course was again pursued in reference to the officers of Gen. Pope's army, not however with as complete success,—and the same course will be adopted again in reference to this emancipation policy. The rebels know that it is fatal to them, and they will strive by every exhibition of ferocity and cruelty "to secure its withdrawal or arrest its execution." They must not succeed. The President has "put his foot down firmly. He must keep it down. Tenderheartedness is out of the question. It will only be the cause of untold and prolonged miseries. As it is, the struggle may be fierce, but it cannot be long. But any change in policy will be hailed as a sign of weakness by our foes at home and our malighers abroad.

Nothing would so much encourage the rebels as their being able to "secure the withdrawal" of that proclamation. They would wade through seas of blood to secure it. There is no atrocity which would be too great for them. We shall not follow them in their downward career. Let them, if they choose, determine to kill every man of ours who falls into their hands. We shall not kill our prisoners on that account; but our men will fight better for it. When "No quarter" is the rebels' battle-cry, we shall have no more Harper's Ferry surrenders. Our soldiers will not falter; our columns will not be checked in their onward career by all the atrocity which the rebels may exhibit. We hope that the Administration, on its part, will show a corresponding firmness, and that its only answer to the furious menaces and barbarous deeds of the rebels will be "Push on the columns: liberty and Union, now and forever!" (New York Times.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

The Duty of the Army in Relation to it.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE }
ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }
Camp near Sharpsburg, Md., Oct. 7.
General Order No. 163.

General Order No. 163.

The attention of the officers and soldiers of the army of the Potomac is called to General Order No. 135, War Department, Sept. 21, 1862, publishing to the army the President's proclamation of Sept. 22.

A proclamation of such grave moment to the nation, officially communicated to the army, affords to the General commanding an opportunity of defining specifically to the officers and soldiers under his command, the relation borne by all persons in the military service of the United States towards the civil authorities of the Government.

The constitution confides to the civil authorities, legislative, judicial, and executive, the power and duty of making, expounding and executing the ordered laws. Armed forces are raised and supported simply to sustain the civil authorities, and are to be held in strict subordination thereto in all respects.

This fundamental rule of our political system is essential to the security of our republican institutions, and should be thoroughly understood and observed by every soldier. The principles upon which, and the objects for which, armies shall be employed in suppressing rebellion, must be determined and declared by the civil authorities, and the Chief Executive, who is charged with the administration of the National affairs, is the proper and only source through which the views and orders of the Government can be made known to the armies of the Union.

the armies of the Union.

Discussion by officers and soldiers concerning public measures determined upon and declared by the Government, when carried at all beyond the ordinary temperate and respectful expression of opinion, tend greatly to impair and destroy the discipline and efficiency of troops by sustaining the spirit of political faction for that firm, steady and earnest support of the authority of the government, which is the highest duty of the American soldier. The remedy for political errors, if any are committed, is to be found only in the action of the people at the polls.

In thus calling the attention of this army to the true relation between the soldiers and the government, the General commanding merely advert's to an evil against which it has been thought advisable during our whole history to guard the armies of the Republic, he will not be considered by any right minded person as casting any reflection upon that loyalty and good conduct which has been so fully illustrated upon so many battle-fields.

In carrying out all measures of public policy, this army will, of course, be guided by the same rules of mercy and Christianity that have ever controlled its conduct toward the defenceless.

By command of Major General McClellan.
JAMES A. HARDEE,
Lieut. Col., Aide de Camp, Acting Assistant
Adjutant General.

GOV. MORTON'S OPINION OF THE PROCLAMATION. Gov. Morton was serenaded in Washington on Monday night. In the course of his remarks, which were frequently applauded, he said our troops have everywhere behaved with gallantry. Every life which has been sacrificed is but another guarantee that the rebellion shall and must be crushed. If the rebellious States should succeed it was impossible that the others could remain together. The work of disintegration would continue until all of them would fly off into puerile and contemptible Republics. He entertained no doubt of the power of the President to issue the Emancipation proclamation as a means by which the strength of the enemy may be crippled and destroyed.

and destroyed.

If the President should discover that Slavery feeds our enemies and digs their trenches, he has the same right to abolish it as he would to pull down their fortifications, and on the same principle Slavery is no longer a moral or political question, but a question, in what does the power of the enemy consist, and how shall it be destroyed? We have, he repeated, a right to withdraw the slave labor which sustains the rebel army in the field. The loyal States have exhibited too much tenderness, and when we consider the enormities of the rebellion, sacrifices we have already made, and the great principles at stake, we should no longer hesitate to employ all the means in our power to crush out the rebellion. We have made a large investment in the best blood of our sons, and we do not intend that investment shall be lost. Cost what it will, this rebellion must be crushed.

BY TELEGRAPH
TO THE
BOSTON DAILY EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

FROM WASHINGTON.

**The Retreat of the Rebel Army
Confirmed.**

GREAT DESTITUTION IN THEIR BANKS.

**THE REBEL FAULKNER TRYING TO
RAISE THEIR COURAGE.**

President Lincoln's Proclamation.

ITS EFFECT AT THE SOUTH.

FEARS OF SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

**The Women and Children Seeking
Safety.**

OUR TROOPS EAGER FOR ACTION.

New York, 9th. The Times's special despatch has the following statement: Lee's army falling back on Staunton is confirmed, and it is expected that in case he shall be pressed by the Union forces, he will retreat to Gordonsville. The condition of the rebel army is one of great destitution. In addition to the want of clothing, they are now living on half rations. Charles J. Faulkner is visiting the camps and making speeches to sustain their courage.

President Lincoln's Emancipation proclamation has inspired the most lively terror throughout the South. The rebels quake with apprehension. They express fears that it will be the means of producing a counter revolution in the slave States, and the soldiers desire to return to their homes to protect their families. They believe the negroes are organized in secret associations and are only waiting an opportunity to rise in insurrection. They have heard already of the proclamation and are becoming very restive under the yoke. The women and children of the rural districts are moving to the cities for safety, and consternation seems to be universal.

A private circular has been issued by the rebel Government to the proprietors of newspapers forbidding the publication of the proclamation.

The Antietam correspondent of the Times has the following, which bears some weight, from the fact of the writer having been with the army since the commencement of the rebellion, and being one of the most intelligent correspondents in the service.

There is nothing the soldiers desire so much as to have the war brought to a close. With them time is everything. They are tired of the business and want to go home. This is as true of the rebel soldiers as of our own, and with a certain class, not I hope by any means the best or largest, every hour's delay makes them more and more indifferent as to how the fighting ends, so that it ends. Remove the restraint which holds the army together, and half of them would go home to see their parents tomorrow. The other half would vote to send commissioners to Richmond, or to welcome propositions from the rebels for winding up the struggle, rather than drag through another winter campaign in the swamps of the Chickahominy or in any part of Virginia, but give them the word Forward! and with the needful leaders and reinforcements they will not stop until they have chased the rebels into the Gulf.

There is nothing the soldiers so much dread as this eternal delay, and the prospect of an indefinite prolongation of the war. Let us whip or get whipped, and have an end of the war, is the language of every man I meet and talk with on the subject. The officers who are worth a copper, would say something if they dare speak their minds. I mention these things not willingly, but for the purpose of showing the temper of the army, and the absolute necessity of keeping their energies employed, and their minds easy.

The same correspondence, dated 8th, states that the rebels made their appearance, yesterday, in small force, opposite this place, for the evident purpose of showing themselves. They were mounted, and numbered about 200. As they seemed anxious to attract attention, a section of a Parrott battery was brought up, and a few shells were sent after them across the river. Of course they made tracks.

The best information that can be derived from Virginia confirms the theory that the body of the rebel army, which lingered for a time on the south side of the Potomac, retired up the valley from the direction of Martinsburg over a week ago. They succeeded, however, in keeping up the semblance of a force along the Potomac for their own purposes.

Oct. 8. 1862

FROM CULPEPPER, VA.
THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMA-
TION AMONG THE SLAVES.

A General Uprising Feared by the
Rebels.

New York, 21st. The Times's despatch has the following:

A gentleman who left Culpepper county, Va., last Wednesday says rebel conscripts are pouring constantly into Winchester.

Seventeen negroes were hung there on the 11th inst., charged with organizing an insurrection against the whites. Copies of the Washington National Republican, containing the President's proclamation of emancipation, were found among them. The conspiracy, our informant says, is supposed to extend throughout several counties, and the greatest excitement and fear prevails of an outbreak among the negroes.

The inhabitants of the counties where the insubordination exists threaten to resist the conscription act on the plea of self-defence, to protect themselves against the negroes.

Two-thirds of the slaves in Virginia have already heard of President Lincoln's proclamation, and know that they are free, and think that should the rebel army retreat from its present position, another Nat Turner rebellion would occur in Eastern and Central Virginia.

THE REBELS AND THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. World says, a report is current in that city, that Gen. Lee has written a letter to Gen. Halleck concerning the Emancipation Proclamation; pronouncing it unwarrantable, so far as the recognized measures of military warfare are concerned, characterizing it as instigating a servile war, and threatening servile insurrections, and therefore to be resented by retaliations, as coming under the head of the brutal and savage expedients of a barbarous people. Accompanying Gen. Lee's communication, there is, it is also rumored, a letter from a high member of the Confederate Government, addressed to members of the Federal Cabinet, urging the propriety of rescinding the offensive Proclamation. The World's correspondent adds: "Notwithstanding these communications, it is still asserted here that Mr. Lincoln is determined to adhere to the Proclamation, and to carry out the radical programme to the bitter end."

If there is any ground for these reports, which may be considered doubtful, they go to show that the rebels have a reasonable dread of a war policy, whose design and tendency they grossly misrepresent, which strikes off the main source of their supplies. Standing by the President, in his determination to enforce that policy, becomes thus the duty of all who really desire to see the rebellion put down and the war ended.

THE PRESIDENT'S EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. To the Christian Public, Clergymen and Laymen throughout the Union:

Being desirous to sustain the President of the United States in his responsible and critical duties, in upholding the Government and overthrowing the Rebellion, and having given the subject our careful deliberation, we submit to you the following memorial:

While we, clergymen and laymen of various Christian denominations, acknowledge our present national humiliation as a just chastisement from God for our national sins, we believe that his paternal hand is directing the entire calamities in the interest of human freedom, as well as for the moral and civil elevation of the American people.

Though we regard slavery as the original and immediate cause of the rebellion, we would not exculpate ourselves from guilt. We have permitted this nation to grow up under our government to its present fearful proportions. But we believe that God is turning the war which slaveholders have waged for the extension and perpetuity of slavery, to work its prospective and final destruction.

We regard the confiscation of the property of the rebels, as we do the proclamation of prospective emancipation, as just, and necessary to bring this wicked war to a close, and to secure a righteous and permanent peace. And for all the loyal citizens of the land, and in the name of humanity and our holy religion, we thank the President for the prudent and well-considered manner in which he has accepted and met the responsibility thrust upon him by the terrible crisis.

We are profoundly impressed with the conviction that in the Providence of God, and under our Constitution, sustained by loyal people, he holds in his hands the fortunes of one free government and the precious interests depending on it for generations yet unborn; and we pledge him, in support of these measures for the restoration of the nation, our sympathy, our prayers, and if need be our lives; for when our free government is overthrown, then also is the free exercise of our religion, and with it every thing which renders life desirable.

We therefore urgently request Pastors of Churches, of all denominations, (with all other Clergymen,) throughout the Union, and members of their congregations, immediately and without further notice to join us in signing the following petition addressed and to be forwarded, through their several Senators or Representatives, to the President of the United States. We also request Clergymen, after forwarding the petition as suggested above, to return their names, titles, denominations, and the number of signatories to the petition, to BENJAMIN H. WEST, M. D., Secretary, Boston, Mass., that we may obtain complete lists of clerical names, and the number of the petitioners.

Religious and loyal papers, by inserting this article, will advance the cause.

To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States:

We, the undersigned, hereby express to you our cordial approval of your late Proclamation of Prospective Emancipation, as a measure intrinsically right and necessary to secure for the country a righteous and permanent peace; and we earnestly hope that it may be carried into full effect. In so doing be assured that you have our entire support and most hearty prayers.

Boston, Dec. 5, 1862.

Rev. L. D. Barrows, D. D.
Hon. Simon Brown,
John G. Webster,
Rev. J. N. Murdock, D. D.
Edwin Lainson,
Rev. Edward E. Hale,
Oss Clapp,
John M. Forbes,
Rev. E. O. Haven, D. D.
Charles W. Slack,
Julius A. Palmer,
Rev. Edward Edmunds,
Warren Sawyer,
Rev. J. G. Bartholomew,
Samuel G. Bowdlear,
Edward G. Tileston,
Benjamin H. West, M. D.,
Secretary.

Members
of the
Christian
Emancipation
Committee.

Rev. Baron Stow, D. D., Rev. L. N. Kirk, D. D.,
Hon. Heman Lincoln, James Wm. Kimball,
Charles Gould, J. M. Plukertou,
L. J. Bradish, Andrew Cushing,
Rev. James F. Clarke, Rev. A. A. Miner,
E. B. Sanborn, Samuel N. Brown, Jr.,
Cyrus Warren, L. Mills,
Rev. G. M. Steele, John K. Dean,
James Howarth, Rev. J. W. Parker, D. D.,
D. Wendell Newhall, Langdon S. Ward,
George Russell, M. D., E. C. Dillingham,
Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, Daniel Davis,
Samuel Tupper, John Brigham,
John W. McKim, Rev. Cyrus A. Bartol,
Nathan B. Stow, Lyman Daggert,
John S. Rogers, Franklin Rand,
Rev. Rollin H. Neale, D. D., Edwin Ray,
M. B. Clark, Rev. B. H. Davis,
Peter Hobart, Jr., Charles Baker,
John A. Hughes, Thomas B. Shute,
Rev. Frederic H. Hedge, Robert A. Fuller,
L. S. Trelton, Rev. Sam'l W. Foljambe,
Geo. Watson, Daniel L. Power,
Frederic Balch, Daniel G. Grafton,
Rev. G. Reynolds, Elijah Wood,
A. A. Burridge, Rev. Almanzar S. Ryder,
J. H. Stephenson, Cushing Bailey,
E. Gerry Dudley, Charles Leadbettor,
Rev. Theo. B. Thayer, Ralph Davenport,
Samuel Carter, Rev. W. Bushnell, M. D.,
Laroy Snodland, Eben Haughton,
Wm. A. Holland, John W. Bacon,
Samuel Millard, George W. Stevens,
Rev. Perez Mason, Rev. J. M. Usher,
John R. Manley, Nath'l M. George,
N. H. Whiting, Frederick H. Hinshaw,
S. E. Chase, Henry Hoyt,
Rev. Rufus Ellis, Rev. Martin Moore,
Benjamin H. Hawkes, Edward Clark,
Hon. Gerry W. Cochrane, George W. Brown,
Samuel S. Perkins, William C. Nell,
Rev. A. Boeseriman, Rev. S. R. Mason,
S. G. Taylor, Gilman Joslin,
George Drake, R. W. Hinshaw,
Josiah Bartlett, M. D., Benjamin F. Dymond,
Benjamin Dow, Rev. William R. Alger,
Rev. John P. Cleavland, James P. Magee,
D. D., W. L. Macdonald,
John Putnam, A. P. Nash,
Albert Tolman, Ezra Farnsworth,
Rev. Robert C. Waterston, Rev. J. G. Warren, D. D.,
I. B. Wiggin, W. J. Cobb,
Nathaniel C. Peabody, Francis D. Ellis,
Charles M. Fuller, Paul Stickney,
Rev. J. P. Bixby, Rev. William P. Tilden,
Cornelius Wellington, A. W. Mumu,
Robert F. Wallcut, William Burton,
Henry W. Kimball, George G. Elder,
Rev. Giles Pease, M. D., Rev. B. F. Clarke,
Richard Martin, Joseph B. Witherell,
E. G. Briggs, S. S. Gray,
Rev. Wm. Bell, Rev. S. B. Croft,
S. B. Robbins, C. E. Hendricks,
Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Charles W. Jones,
Theodore Weld, C. M. Weld, M. D.,
Rev. Geo. H. Hepworth, Rev. B. K. Russ,
C. H. Braithwaite, S. Oscar Merrill,
Sylvanus Smith, Edward H. Snow,
John P. Palmer, N. B. Sherman,
Rev. Wm. Hague, D. D., Rev. Warren Burton,
Josiah Gooding, Wm. Bates,
Charles Richardson, Samuel Hazelwood,
Samuel L. Gould, Ansel Lothrop,
Hon. N. Boynton, Rev. Thomas Sillaway,
John W. Pierce, Perry Brigham,
Phiney Nickerson, John Favor,
H. I. Tindor, Gen. John S. Tyler,
Rev. M. E. Hawes, Rev. John Duncan, D. D.,
Wm. Foster, (aged 90 yrs) Joseph E. Brown,
John Tappan, Josiah Quincy, Jr.,
Joseph Simonds, John J. Soren,
C. C. Litchfield, W. Learned,
Rev. Charles M. Tyler, John S. Emery,
Riley Pebbles, John McDuffie,
T. H. Mansfield, Rev. L. R. Thayer,
Rev. Edward Smiley, Ansel Lothrop,
N. P. Mann, John L. Hanson,
D. O. Goodrich, Rev. Charles A. Skinner,
Rev. L. A. Grimes, J. H. Appleton,
Samuel A. Porter, Solomon Marble,
R. K. Darrah, Leonard D. O. Smith,
John Flint, M. D., Rev. James Eastwood,
Rev. C. B. Smith, S. A. B. Brazz,
Joseph Storey, Sumner Field,
Samuel D. Young, Rev. Frederick Hineckley,
Rev. James Eastwood, W. F. Story,
Simon H. Lewis, Ephraim Allou,
Samuel C. Bennett, Rev. J. W. Dennis,
R. E. Hammond, Wm. Lawrence,
Rev. J. H. Campbell, G. P. Pierce,
Stanford Adams, Rev. L. L. Koripaugh,
N. P. Mann, Jr., Frederick F. Hassam,
Edmund Dowe, Henry Emerson,
Rev. George H. Emerson, Benjamin A. Carter,
W. C. Stone, Charles W. Newton,
Giles M. Pease, John Kilton,
John Anderson, Rev. George W. Quimby,
Charles B. Botsford, Andria A. Foster,
Rev. A. P. Cleverly, Heman L. Putnam,
George W. Botsford, Samuel Joslyn,
W. E. Underwood, A. K. W. Perkins,
S. T. Cushing, John H. Putnam,
L. M. Ward, Cornelius Webster,
Henry W. Kimball, Wm. H. Leavitt,
Matthew Bolles, John E. Coates,
Rev. C. K. Moor,

Sept 22 1862

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.



HEADQUARTERS, BOSTON, December 26, 1863.

GENERAL ORDER, No. 22.

On the Twenty-Second day of September, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-Two, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, issued his Executive Proclamation, declaring that "on the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free."

On the first day of January, A. D., one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, a PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION, was made by the President, in and by the terms of which, "all persons held as slaves in the designated State and parts of States then in rebellion," were declared "free;" and the "Executive Government of the United States," including the Military and Naval authorities thereof, were *pledged* to "recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons."

On the first day of January, A. D., one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, by a joint resolution of both Houses of Congress, there was submitted to the Legislatures of the several States for their adoption, "an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provided that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction;" and that "Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

On the eighteenth day of December, A. D., one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, the Secretary of State of the United States certified and proclaimed that the Amendment to the Constitution proposed as aforesaid, had been duly ratified by three-fourths of the whole number of States, and had "become valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution of the United States."

In commemoration and honor of these transactions and events, so great and beneficent, so laden with joy to the American Slave, and hope to the oppressed of every land, so honorable to this nation and people,—conforming their national policy with Christian civilization; so full of lofty cheer, and of sublime and consoling aspirations; so happy in associating the advent of the year with the advent of Liberty;—

IT IS ORDERED:

That National Salutes be fired on MONDAY NEXT, (January 1st, A. D., 1866), being the anniversary of EMANCIPATION DAY, at 12 o'clock, at noon, in all the following places, viz: on Boston Common, at Plymouth, on Dorchester heights; on Bunker Hill, at Concord, and Lexington, and at the North Bridge, Salem.

The National Flag will be suspended on all the public buildings, and at all Military Posts of the Commonwealth during the day.

The 1st Company of Light Artillery, Capt. Cummings and the 2d Company of Light Artillery, Capt. Baxter, are charged with the execution of this order. They will report to these Headquarters for further orders,

By order of His Excellency, JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

WM. SCHOULER,
Adjutant-General.

LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION.

Original Draft of the Document Declaring the Slaves Free.

Further conference (by the cabinet) was held on organizing negro regiments, but Lincoln decided that the moment had not yet arrived when this policy could be safely entered upon. Writes Chase: "The impression left upon my mind by the whole discussion was that while the president thought that the organization, equipment and arming of negroes like other soldiers would be productive of more evil than good, he was not unwilling that commanders should, at their discretion, arm, for purely defensive purposes, slaves coming within their lines. But on the kindred policy of emancipation the president had reached a decision which appears to have been in advance of the views of his entire cabinet. Probably, greatly to their surprise, he read to them the following draft of a proclamation warning the rebels of the pains and penalties of the confiscation act, and while renewing his tender of compensation to loyal states which would adopt gradual abolition, adding a summary military order, as commander-in-chief, declaring free the slaves of all states which might be in rebellion on Jan. 1, 1863." The text of this first draft of the Emancipation proclamation is here printed for the first time: "In pursuance of the sixth section of the act of congress entitled 'An act to suppress insurrection and to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes,' approved July 17, 1862, and which act and the joint resolution explanatory thereof are herewith published, I, Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States, do hereby proclaim to and warn all persons within the contemplation of said sixth section to cease participating in, aiding, countenancing or abetting the existing rebellion, or any rebellion against the government of the United States, and to return to their proper allegiance to the United States, on pain of the forfeitures and seizures, as within and by said sixth section provided.

"And I hereby make known that it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure for tendering pecuniary aid to the free choice or rejection of any and all states, which may then be recognizing and practically sustaining the authority of the United States, and which may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, gradual abolition of slavery within such state or states; that the object is to practically restore, thenceforward to be maintained, the constitutional relation between the general government and each and all the states wherein that relation is now suspended or disturbed; and that for this object the war, as it has been, will be prosecuted. And as a fit and necessary military measure for effecting this object, I, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, do order and declare that on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state or states wherein the constitutional authority of the United States shall not then be practically recognized, submitted to and maintained, shall then, thenceforward and forever be free."

Of the cabinet proceedings which followed the reading of this momentous document we have unfortunately only very brief memoranda. Every member of the council was, we may infer, bewildered by the magnitude and boldness of the proposal. The sudden consideration of this critical question reveals to us with vividness the difference in mental reach, readiness and decision between the president and his constitutional advisers. Only two of the number gave the measure their unreserved concurrence, even after discussion. It is strange that one of these was the cautious attorney general, the representative of the conservative faction of the slave holding state of Missouri, and that the

member who opposed the measure as a whole, and proposed to achieve the result indirectly through the scattered and divided action of local commanders in military departments, was the anti-slavery secretary of the treasury, Mr. Chase, representing perhaps more nearly than any other the abolition faction of the free state of Ohio. All were astonished except the two to whom it had been mentioned a week before. None of the others had even considered such a step. But from the mind and will of President Lincoln the determination and announcement to his cabinet came almost as complete in form and certain in intention on that memorable Tuesday of July as when, two months later, it was given to the public, or as officially proclaimed on the succeeding New Year's day, an irrevocable executive act.—Century.

HOW THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION WAS MADE.

I have often heard my father speak of the details connected with the Proclamation of Emancipation, which is probably one of the most important public documents ever penned by hand of man, and which in this country certainly stands side by side with the Declaration of Independence. Great was the privilege accorded to one individual that he should have the power and will to do this great thing and be the chosen instrument of the Lord to remove National disgrace and to effect by a single act what so many great and noble men had striven to accomplish by their life's work. "Many are called but few chosen" is one of the mysteries that those who give their all for a cause find it hard to understand. That Mr. Lincoln should have been singled out as the very Apostle of Freedom, and the greater champions of the race be comparatively forgotten by the people for whose sake they had borne abuse and obloquy seems strange in the order of things mundane. Far from being a doughty defender of the race, the President was brought step by step, by force of circumstances, through motives of expediency, on account of the pressure of public opinion, and finally by reason of his own distinct conviction that it was the right and only thing to do, to his final action. When Mr. Greeley addressed Mr. Lincoln publicly and personally in *The Tribune*, urging emancipation, and that the Administration should adopt a more vigorous and determined policy, the President placed his views before the public in the following reply: "My paramount object is to save the Union and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would do it." Still, however, the pressure grew—the public sentiment in the North became stronger and stronger. The President was visited by delegations of the clergy. The Republican press urged that there should be no delay, and still Mr. Lincoln hesitated. "I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves," he says about this time to a deputation. "I hold the matter under advisement; and I can assure you the matter is on my mind by day and night more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will I will do."

During this period of doubt and indecision the strength of the man showed itself in that he apparently consulted no member of his Cabinet. The momentous question was pondered over and decided in his own mind. Like the captains of the hosts in the Old Testament, the head of our armies and navies laid the matter before a higher tribunal with a solemn vow. "If the Lord will do this thing I will surely free the slaves," he said to himself with simple superstitious faith, and waited for the Divine sanction. And it came. On September 22, 1862, he summoned his Cabinet to announce to them his decision and read his proclamation. Here we see the extraordinary mixture of simplicity and humor which characterized the man, combined with his great earnestness of purpose and his full appreciation of the loneliness and responsibility of his position, which tinged his official life with a sort of prophetic sadness. Such a combination has to be seen at this distance of time to appreciate and comprehend its remarkable directness and singleness of aim. Just at that juncture his simplicity seemed almost trivial to those whose natures felt the great and solemn importance of the occasion. Mr. Stanton especially could not understand and never quite forgave Mr. Lincoln for

coming in at this supreme moment with a book of Artemus Ward in his hand, and before proceeding to the all-important question before them, reading a chapter of the absurd nonsense out loud to the assembled heads of the Departments, laughing heartily over its humor. Immediately afterward, said my father, "with one of those rapid changes of his which were so characteristic, he became suddenly grave. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'I have, as you are aware, thought a great deal about the relation of this war to slavery. My mind has been much occupied with the subject and I have thought all along that the time for acting on it might probably come. I think that the time has come now. I wish it was a better time. I wish we were in a better condition. The action of the Army against the Rebels has not been quite what I should have best liked. But they have been driven out of Maryland, and Pennsylvania is no longer in danger of invasion. When the Rebel army was at Frederick I determined, as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a proclamation of emancipation. I said nothing to any one, but I made a promise to myself and (hesitating a little) to my Maker. I am now going to fulfil that promise, and I have sent for you to hear what I have written. But I do not wish your advice about the main matter, for that I have determined for myself. This I say without intending anything but respect for any one of you. But I already know the views of each on this question, and I have considered them as thoroughly and carefully as I can. What I have written I have determined to say, but if there is anything in the expressions I use, or there is any minor matter which any one of you think advisable to have changed, I shall be very glad to receive your suggestions. I know very well others might do better than I can in this matter. If I were satisfied that the public confidence was more fully possessed by any one than by me, and knew of any constitutional way in which that person could be put in my place, he should have it. But I am here; I must do the best I can and bear alone the responsibility of taking the course I ought to take.'

The extract given above is from my father's diary. The incident which follows was well known in our family, although I did not know it was recorded in writing until last winter, when on looking over some letters written to me by my father when I was abroad in 1867, I found the following account of the paragraph to which he had the honor of writing, and which brings to a fitting close the great and important document which put an end forever to slavery in this country:

"Looking over old papers," he writes, "to find the seal (something that he referred to in another part of his letter), I found many of my memoranda, etc., of the war, and among them my draft of a proclamation of emancipation submitted to Mr. Lincoln the day before his own was issued. He asked all of us for suggestions in regard to its form and I submitted mine in writing, and among other sentences the close as it now stands, which he adopted from my draft with a modification. It may be interesting to you to see precisely what I said, and I copy it. You must remember that in the original draft there was no reference whatever to Divine or human sanction of the act. What I said was this at the conclusion of my letter: 'Finally, I respectfully suggest that on an occasion of such interest there can be no imputation of affectation against a solemn recognition of responsibility before men and before God, and that some such close as this will be proper: "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution (and) of duty demanded by the circumstances of the country, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God." Mr. Lincoln adopted this close, substituting only for the words enclosed in parentheses these words: "upon military necessity," which I think was not an improvement.' There has been some little discussion about this matter, but this, I believe, is an exact account of the clause in question.

JANET CHASE HOYT.



Battle of Emancipation

Mr. Lincoln Accepted Victory at Antietam as Indication That Human Chattels Should Be Freed.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1912, will be the fiftieth anniversary of the signing by Abraham Lincoln of the Emancipation Proclamation, a document which, in the language of Nicolay and Hay, "ushered in the great political regeneration of the American people." On the morning of September 22, six days after the battle of Antietam, it was published in many of the papers of the country, including the Tribune. The fact that it was issued so soon after the battle was not an accident. President Lincoln, who had been considering the question for months, had made a vow that if God gave the Union arms the victory in the approaching battle with Lee he would consider it an indication of Divine will that he should move forward in the cause of emancipation. He believed that the results at the battle of Antietam were an evidence that God had decided the question in favor of the slaves. The paper which he had prepared almost exactly two months before, therefore, was brought forth, the language altered in some particulars and issued to the surprise of the public, which had been wondering for a long time which side of the question of actually freeing the slaves the President would take, and had been badgering him to take one side or the other of the issue.

While theoretically the object of the war was the preservation of the Union, the black head of the slave persisted in showing itself at all points. From the beginning of the war, whenever the Union forces gained possession of Southern localities, such as Port Royal and New Orleans, the negroes were likely to find themselves forsaken by their owners and under the protection of "Father Abraham" and the Union armies. They did not object to this guardianship. In fact, they liked the "Linkum" gunboats and the "Linkum" soldiers. They became a problem. They could be used in the performance of physical labor in the service of the United States, and, being property, it was considered a proper settlement of the difficulty to consider them contraband of war and make use of them as such. But the United States government could never keep them as slaves.

PROBLEM MORE INSISTENT.

The problem of abolition of all slavery grew more insistent for solution from both military and political points of view. The negroes, although not combatants, greatly assisted the cause of the South through their work on the plantations while their masters were engaged in fighting in the armies of the Confederacy. They also were of service in the construction of Confederate earthworks, relieving the soldier from this arduous task. From the political point of view it was evident that slavery

could not continue, but how could it be abolished, assuming that it should be wiped out? The loyal North had different views on this point which had to be considered. There were two opinions in the border states, where there were loyal slave holders. Lincoln had made up his mind that so far as he was concerned he would fight for the preservation of the Union as a whole so long as he had any support. What would become of the slave when the rebellion was broken and the Union restored?

Congress, at his suggestion, offered to compensate those in the border slave states who should release their slaves, but this produced no results. Congress had previously, by enactment, declared slaves actually employed in the military service of the Confederacy to be free. It was ordered that negroes who escaped from their masters and came into the Union lines should not be assisted by the Union army to return. There were to be no slaves in the territories of the United States. Congress emancipated those in the District of Columbia, and provision was made for their education. A new confiscation act was passed and signed on July 17, 1862, by President Lincoln. This was entitled, "An act to destroy slavery under the powers of war," and declared that slaves of persons guilty and convicted of treason or rebellion should be made free; that slaves of rebels, escaping and taking refuge within the army lines and coming under the control of the United States gov-

ernment, and slaves of rebels found in any place occupied by rebel forces and afterward occupied by the Union army, should all be deemed captives of war and be forever free. This act also looked to the organization of negroes into Union military forces, the enlistment compensation being in the form of emancipation from slavery for themselves and their wives, mothers and children, if they belonged to armed rebels.

In the mean time, as the year wore along the Union successes in Kentucky and Tennessee and Louisiana, which had cheered the loyal hearts, were followed by the reverses of the Army of the Potomac before Richmond and Pope's failure at the second battle of Bull Run. The people became dispirited. Something must be done.

On July 22, only five days after signing the confiscation act, President Lincoln prepared an emancipation proclamation freeing all slaves in states which should be in rebellion on January 1, 1863, and he read it to the members of the Cabinet, who listened in astonishment.

"It had got to be midsummer, 1862," said Mr. Lincoln, talking to F. S. Carpenter, the artist, who lived at the White House for a time while he was at work on the famous picture of the "Signing of the Emancipation Proclamation." "Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing; that we had about played our last card and must change our tactics or lose the game. I now determined upon

the adoption of the emancipation policy, and without consultation with or the knowledge of the Cabinet I prepared the original draft of the proclamation and, after much anxious thought, called a Cabinet meeting upon the subject. . . . All were present except Mr. Blair, the Post-

master General, who was absent at the opening of the discussion and came in subsequently. . . . Mr. Blair, after he came in, deprecated the policy on the ground that it would cost the administration the fall elections. Nothing, however, was offered that I had not already fully anticipated and settled in my own mind until Secretary Seward spoke.

"He said in substance: 'Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help—the government stretching forth her hands to Ethiopia instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government.' His idea was that it would be considered our last shriek on the retreat. 'Now,' continued Mr. Seward, 'while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue until you can give it to the country supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war.' The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State," continued Mr. Lincoln, "struck me with great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thought upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for victory."

The victory was a long time coming. Late in August Pope was defeated. In the mean time the factions who supported slavery and those who desired its abolition were becoming impatient because the President seemed to be doing nothing. He received advice in large quantities and was being importuned to do this thing or that thing or some other thing. A citizen of Louisiana wrote complaining that the interests of loyal slaveholders were being permitted to suffer through the military pressure which was being applied in slave states.

"What would you do in my position?" President Lincoln asked this man. "Would you drop the war where it is? Or would you prosecute it in the future with elder-stalk squirts charged with rose water? Would you deal lighter blows rather than heavier ones? Would you give up the contest, leaving any available means unplied?"

Others criticized him for not using enough pressure in the slave states. At last Lincoln became irritated.

One day a delegation of Chicago religious leaders called on him, with the purpose of asking the immediate proclamation of universal emancipation. The interview lasted an hour, and in the course of the discussion a dogmatic memorial was handed to him. Lincoln made a reply, which was afterward written out and printed by the

delegation up to him home. According to this report, he said that he was approached with the most opposite opinions and advice. Religious men who came to him were certain that they represented the Divine will.

"I am sure," he continued, "that either the one or the other class is mistaken in that belief, and perhaps in some respects both. I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal his will to others on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed He would reveal it directly to me, for, unless I am more deceived in myself than I often am, it is my earnest desire to know the will of Providence in this matter. And if I can learn what it is I will do it. These are not, however, the days of miracles, and I suppose it will be

granted that I am not to expect a direct revelation. I must study the plain physical facts of the case, ascertain what is possible and learn what appears to be wise and right. . . . What would a proclamation of emancipation from me do, especially as we are now situated? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet. Would my word free the slaves when I cannot even enforce the Constitution in the rebel states?"

Three days after this interview the battle of Antietam began, and six days later the President issued the proclamation and was duly criticised by some folk for issuing a document which he had declared would be as inoperative as "the Pope's bull against the comet." Events had suddenly changed political conditions, and the time was ripe for him to make public his future policy regarding slavery.

The meeting of the Cabinet on September 22, at which it was discussed just before its promulgation, was held at the White House about noon. The details of that momentous meeting were described in writing by more than one member of the Cabinet. There was some general talk. Then President Lincoln remarked that Artemus Ward had sent him his book, entitled "Highanded Outrage at Utica." A chapter in it, he thought, was very funny, and he proposed reading it, which he did, everyone, except Stanton, perhaps, enjoying the reading extremely. Then he launched into the question of the proclamation, taking a graver tone. He said that when Lee's army was at Frederick he determined that as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland to issue the proclamation of emancipation, saying nothing to any one, but promising it to himself and to his Maker. "The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfill that promise," he continued. After finishing his remarks he read his draft of the proclamation, commenting on its details and exciting discussion. Then it was taken to the State Department for attestation and to receive the great seal of the United States. The papers on the following morning contained the proclamation.

The Tribune printed the proclamation on the editorial page, and preceded it with a half-column double leaded summary, concluding:

"Such, in brief, are the provisions of the proclamation which we give below. It is the beginning of the end of the rebellion; the beginning of the new life of the nation."

"GOD BLESS ABRAHAM LINCOLN!"

The next day The Tribune printed a long editorial, which began:

"THE PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM."

"In sacred and profane poetry, the epitome of all human wisdom, there is no truth more clearly recognized than that in the lives of nations and of men there comes sometimes a precious moment, a mere point of time, on the proper use of which depends salvation for that life, whether temporal or eternal. That moment has come to us. The proclamation of the President, which gives in a certain contingency—almost sure to occur—freedom to four millions of men, is one of those stupendous facts in human history which marks not only an era in the progress of the nation but an epoch in the history of the world. Shall we recognize and use it wisely, or shall we, blindly and foolishly, refuse to see that we have now our future in our own hands, and enter upon that downward career which leads eventually to ruin and oblivion?"

President Lincoln and members of the Cabinet were serenaded that evening, and

a long dispatch appeared in The Tribune the next morning, September 25, describing the occasion. It follows, in part:

"Special dispatch to The N. Y. Tribune.
"Washington, Wednesday, Sept. 24, 1862.

"The serenade in honor of the Emancipation Proclamation to-night called out a large and enthusiastic throng, in which shoulder straps were not unrepresented. Nobody expected a long speech from the President, and so nobody was disappointed with the brevity of his few remarks, which were recognized as very much to the point. He had issued the proclamation with a full knowledge of what he was doing, and would stand by it. The officers and soldiers engaged in the late battles in Virginia fought them bravely and skillfully, and he proposed three cheers for them, one and all. The speech was as follows:

"Fellow Citizens: I appear before you to do little more than acknowledge the courtesy you pay me, and to thank you for it. I have not been distinctly informed why on this occasion you appear to do me this honor, though I suppose (interruptions) it is because of the proclamation. (Cries of "Good!" and applause.) I was about to say, I suppose I understand it—(Laughter. Voices: "That you do," "You thoroughly understand it.") What I did I did after very full deliberation and under a very heavy and solemn sense of responsibility. (Cries of "Good," "Good," "Bless you," and applause.) I can only trust in God I have made no mistake. (Cries: "No mistake—all right; you've made no mistakes yet. Go ahead; you're right.") I shall make no attempt on this occasion to sustain what I have done or said by any comment. (Voices, "That's unnecessary; we understand it.") It is now for the country and the world to pass judgment on it, and, maybe, take action upon it. I will say no more upon this subject. In my position I am environed with difficulties. (A voice, "That's so.") Yet they are scarcely so great as the difficulties of those who, upon the battlefield, are endeavoring to purchase with their blood and their lives the future happiness and prosperity of this

country. (Applause long and continued.) Let us never forget them. On the 14th and 15th days of the present month there have been battles bravely, skilfully and successfully fought. (Applause.) We do not yet know the particulars. Let us be sure that in giving praise to particular individuals we do no injustice to others. I only ask you, at the conclusion of these few remarks, to give three hearty cheers to all good and brave officers and men who fought those successful battles."

"Cheer after cheer was given, when the President bade the crowd good night and withdrew.

SECRETARY CHASE SPEAKS.

"The crowd, after giving hearty cheers for the President and his proclamation, followed the band to the residence of Secretary Chase. As Mr. Chase appeared upon the balcony in front of his residence, he was greeted with vociferous cheers, mingled with cries of 'Hail, Hail.' Mr. Chase said:

"My friends, all the light that you can have this evening will be the light reflected from the great act of the President. (Cries of "Good," "Good" and applause. A voice—"That's light enough.") I understand that you have just paid your respects to the Chief Magistrate of the Republic to assure him that the proclamation which he has recently issued finds its echo in the hearts of the American people. (Great applause.) No one can rejoice more sincerely in the belief that the judgment which you have expressed of that act will be the judgment of the whole people of the United States. (Loud applause.) I am, fellow citizens, better accustomed to work than I am to speak. I love acts better than words. (Cries of "Good," and applause. A voice—"Greenbacks show that.") Laughter and applause.) But fellow citizens, nothing has ever given me more sincere pleasure than to say amen to the last great act of the Chief Magistrate. ("Good," "Good.") In my judgment it is the dawn of a new era; and although that act is performed under an imperious sense of duty, created by the military exigencies which give him power to perform it, it is, nevertheless, though necessarily baptized in blood, an act of humanity and justice. (Applause.) The latest generations will celebrate it. (A voice—"And the whole world.") The world will pay homage to the man who has performed it. (Applause.) You will excuse me, fellow citizens. (Cries of "Go on, go on.") If there is another word to be added to-night it is this, that the time has come when we should bury all jealousies, all divisions and all personal aims and all personal aspirations in one common resolve to stand by the integrity of the Republic. (Great applause.) Let him have the most of your approbation (applause) and confidence who does most, whether in the field or at the head of the nation or in the Cabinet, for the country. (Applause.) Dismissing all the past, let us look only to the future, and henceforth let the day of dissension, discord and defeat be ended. Let us do nothing except to work for our country, wherever Providence may dictate."

After summarizing the speech of General Cassius M. Clay, in which he pointed out what he considered to be the deeper meaning of the war, concluding with a repetition of Greeley's prayer, "God bless Abraham Lincoln," the Tribune's account concluded:

"The large crowd—one of the largest ever assembled in Washington on such an occasion—then accompanied the band to the residence of Attorney General Bates, who was loudly cheered. He spoke as follows:

"Fellow Citizens: I have no idea of the cause of this great demonstration. (Voice—"The proclamation!") Yes, I know that so great a crowd as this does not assemble at this time of night unless with a purpose. (Voice: "The proclamation!") I am not accustomed to these spontaneous gatherings, for I have lived in a wilder country than this, though I confess I have now and then addressed a few acres of people myself. (Laughter and voices: "What do you think of the proclamation?") I shall not venture to open the floodgates for the tide of passion which now rolls so fiercely across the land. If I were to attempt it I should exhaust your patience and my own voice. (Voice: "Go on!") No, I shall not try it, anyway. I have been in great distress and discomfort for some time past. (Voice: "Feel relieved now?") No, I do not feel relieved now, for my own state, the land whereon are the homes of my people, is covered over half its surface with blood and ashes."

After painting a rosy picture of the future of the country, he was once again besought for his views on the proclamation, which evidently he had been trying to avoid. The Tribune account continues:

"Pardon me, gentlemen. I shall not give my views before a promiscuous crowd. I shall not discuss the action of the Cabinet, of which I am a member—the action of the President, who is my superior." (A voice: "He has himself discussed it; so has Secretary Chase." Cries of "That's so," and cheers for Attorney General Bates, and which the speaker retired.)

"Wherever the proclamation was alluded to throughout the evening the applause was general and wildly enthusiastic. The officers and soldiers who were present heartily joined in it."

A few days afterward the governors of sixteen of the free states and the Governor of West Virginia presented a written address to the President promising their support in suppressing the rebellion and heartily indorsing the new emancipation policy. Only the executives of the five border states withheld their support.

NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE, SUNDAY, JULY 30, 1911.

Lincoln's Great Day, Sept. 22, 1862

Emancipation Proclamation Read to His Cabinet and Announced to the World on That Date Made It Most Memorable Day in His Career — Turning Point of Struggle to Save the Union.

By Henry L. Stoddard
Henry L. Lillard
What day in Lincoln's career seemed to him the greatest?

* * *

There are memorable days in the careers of all men who achieve distinction; the battle of ambition is not a single engagement but a never-ending series—an Armageddon.

* * *

When you have gone through many of life's conflicts, and you have reached that period when memory looks back upon them much as you look down from a hilltop upon the long, long path in the valley along which you trudged, you recall the milestones you have passed on the way; each has its particular place in your mind, each brings back to you recollections of the struggle with which it was associated—the triumph it marked or the weariness that had to be overcome; but somewhere there is one milestone that stands out beyond all others.

* * *

Naturally, the young cannot assay the preciousness of these milestones, but those who cross the half-century line of life can look upon them as a long perspective that in its way seems as much a dream as though it were a vision of the future, and not a reality of the past.

* * *

One of our great writers has said that life really begins when you have recollections, and that its greatest charm is in one's recollections. Whether or not that statement is true is open to discussion, but it surely is true that every man of years looks back upon some day or days in his career that meant most to him.

Such memories are the real wealth you accumulate as you pass along, and the strange thing about them is that your friends, intimate as they may be, when they try to guess the day that is foremost in your mind—that means most to you—seldom hit upon the real one.

* * *

And that leads me to the query, what day did Lincoln feel meant most to him?

Some days in Lincoln's career come instantly to mind. March 4, 1847, for example, when he took his seat in Congress. That must have seemed to him then as the pinnacle of fame; he had tried for it three times and had failed. Now the place was his!

The circuit-riding lawyer from Sangamon county must have been thrilled as he walked down the aisle of the House to be sworn in as one of the nation's legislators; to meet with Henry Clay, "Andy" Johnson (who was to succeed him as President), John Quincy Adams, Howell Cobb, "Bob" Toombs, Jefferson Davis, Alexander H. Stephens.

Undoubtedly, no thought of higher ambition could have lurked in the imagination of this backwoods congressman seated as an equal in rank with the political giants of his time.

The next momentous day is Lincoln's nomination for the presidency in June, 1861. That surely must have been a thriller! John Drinkwater has given us a pen picture of the Lincoln home on that occasion, and its quiet atmosphere.

Life there ran along much the same lines day in and day out, unruffled by the turbulence of the world beyond its horizon; but as visions of the great office of the presidency came across its threshold there must have been a feeling that no day could mean more in one's lifetime than that day.

Yet there was another day.

* * *

And it was not the day on which Lincoln learned of his election to the presidency, nor the day on which he was inaugurated President, nor the day of his re-election, nor the day of Gettysburg or of Appomattox.

Those were all great days in his life and in the nation's life, and each meant much to both man and nation. Each had its passing importance as it marked, step by step, the higher levels he attained.

* * *

But the day which in my opinion stood out in Lincoln's mind to the last as the greatest of all was the day on which he read the Emancipation Proclamation to his cabinet and announced it to the country—September 22, 1862.

* * *

It has always seemed to me that that day divided Lincoln's career. Before then he was for saving the Union—with slavery if it must be without slavery if possible.

It was on the Union and not on slavery that his mind and effort centered. And the story from our battlefields for nearly two years had warned him that that policy was not succeeding either in ending slavery or saving the Union.

* * *

the belief that to save the Union was his first duty; but he slowly realized that that objective by itself would not bring to him that intense and unified support in the North that could be translated into victories on the battlefields of the South. He must fire the hearts of the people with a great moral issue; not the Union but humanity itself must be the stake!

* * *

There is no evidence when that awakening first came to Lincoln. It came slowly; but he had reached the decision long before he made it public.

He told his cabinet on that memorable September 22 that he had made a vow, a covenant with God, that if God gave the Union forces a victory at Antietam he would consider it an indication of Divine will to move forward to emancipation.

The Union forces won, God had decided in favor of the slaves, and so, said Lincoln, the question was decided, the act and its consequences were his and he would stand or fall with them.

* * *

From that day on Lincoln made union and freedom a single issue, and the country responded.

The Congress elections had seemed hopeless for Republican majorities; the emancipation policy, announced in the midst of the campaign, seemed to some people to make it more so. Just the reverse happened. A Republican majority was returned to Congress.

* * *

That winter Grant hammered at Vicksburg preparatory to capturing it on July 4, 1863; the Gettysburg triumph is of the same date; steadily, the North gathered its strength for the coming Appomattox; you could see the effect in Lincoln himself. His mind had been cleared of doubt; he was fighting for the Union and the slaves. The two were inseparable issues.

* * *

You cannot study the Lincoln of those days without noting that he realized the difference between arousing people in behalf of a moral principle such as anti-slavery was, and arousing them for a form of government such as the Union was. They would give their lives freely for one; but not so freely for the other.

How deeply it impressed Lincoln is shown in the directness and firmness of his Gettysburg address and of his second inaugural; contrast those addresses with his first inaugural, or with his other utterances before the Emancipation Proclamation, and you will see that the influence and inspiration of a great cause were guiding him in a steady course.

* * *

That is why I believe, as I look over his career, that Lincoln looked back upon September 22, 1862, as the greatest day in his career—the day he kept his covenant with God!

2-12-20

New Yorker Saw Lincoln Write 'Proclamation'

David Homer Bates, Manager of War Department's Telegraph Office, Recalls Incident of the Spiders

'Wrote a Little Each Day'

Liberator Carefully Observed Insects as He Penned Charter of Freedom

By Charles T. White

Lincoln wrote the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation a little at a time on the desk of the late Major Thomas T. Eckert, of New York, in the cipher room of the War Department telegraph office, on the second floor of the old War Department Building in Washington, during the summer of 1862.

He had the daily "help" of a small colony of spiders, the inhabitants of a spacious nest or series of webs housed between the double window sashes at the end of Eckert's desk.

For two weeks or more he watched these spiders as in his spare time he secretly framed the paragraphs of the document.

David Homer Bates, manager of the War Department telegraph office during the war, says that Lincoln seemed to take real pleasure in watching the spiders, which Bates, Eckert, Chandler and Tinker, the cipher operators, jealously protected after they noticed that Lincoln paid special attention to them.

Survivor Relates Incident

Mr. Bates is the sole survivor of the cipher room. Last night at the Hotel Ansonia, where he and Mrs. Bates live, he told how Lincoln came to write the Proclamation in the cipher room, and of his unaffected interest in the spiders, which seemed to reciprocate his attention, for they "performed" for him from time to time as he settled himself at Eckert's desk.

"He dubbed them 'Eckert's lieutenants,' and that's what we got to calling them," said Mr. Bates. "There seemed to be two or three families between the sashes, and they usually had some kind of doings that engrossed the President."

"Lincoln naturally was a secretive man. He took people into his confidence only to the extent to which their cooperation would be available for good and no furtner. He exercised extreme caution with the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation. He seemed to feel entirely at ease in the cipher room, and he came to us usually three times a day, morning, noon and night. When battles were in progress, or the army was doing anything vitally important, he frequently would stay pretty much all night, either to get the latest news or to issue orders."

"He didn't let Stanton or Seward or, in fact, any of his Cabinet know when he began the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation. He had saved 'Tom' Eckert from dismissal by Secretary Stanton and Eckert deeply appreciated it, and couldn't do enough to show his gratitude. Perhaps that is why Lincoln chose Eckert's desk in the cipher room to work at."

"What's the Latest From Grant?"

"Lincoln would come into the office from the White House, which was near

by, every morning after breakfast, and he'd greet the first one he caught sight of as a father would speak to his boy. 'Well, Homer, what's the news this morning?' he'd say. Once, after a mustard plaster had left a red band running up my neck into the hair, he spotted it and said, looking straight at me, with a smile at all of us, 'Here, you young man with the sore neck, what's the latest from Grant?'

"That's the way he was—he'd lighten the gloom, every time, if there was any gloom."

"To go back to the Emancipation Proclamation; he would drop into a chair at Eckert's desk, lean over for a look at 'Eckert's lieutenants'—that is, the spiders—comment on changes in the webs or the acquisition of flies or insects, and then he'd take out of a private drawer the uncompleted Proclamation, whose promulgation a few months later marked a high spot in American history.

"Scanning what he had already written, he would sit still for a minute or two as he buckled his mind to what he wanted to write next. Another glance at the spiders, a hitch to the chair, a glance out of the window, and then, with the right words in mind, he'd write a few lines, pausing to read over the document as far as he'd got.

"He didn't write much at a time and he didn't write rapidly, but what he did write was beautifully done, with no interlineations or erasures. After the first day or two of this kind of work all four cipher men knew what he was doing, as he made no secret about it with Eckert, who was the guardian of the draft.

Eckert Guardian of Draft

"That's the way the Emancipation Proclamation grew, a little at a time, with a new paragraph every day or two. As I said in the beginning, the spiders intermittently had his attention. What they were doing, especially as they threw out filaments and found anchorages for them, like a general establishing new lines of communication—all such marvelous little things challenged Lincoln's thought. What the spiders were doing seemed to lubricate the big man's mental machinery, much as a jest or pertinent anecdote would do at other times.

"The bond between Lincoln and Eckert was strong. Secretary Stanton one day in an especially black mood had Eckert 'on the carpet.' In the presence of General Sanford and others he charged him with neglect of duty, unfitness and with 'leaking' information to the newspaper correspondents. Eckert hotly denied every charge and innuendo, and under suppressed excitement demanded immediate acceptance of his resignation, which he wrote out on the spot.

"Before the colloquy was over the President slipped into the room and stood immediately behind Captain Eckert. Eckert felt a hand on his shoulder and supposed it was General Sanford. He discovered it was Lincoln.

"There was the stillness of death as we awaited the climax of the tense drama.

"'Mr. Secretary,' said Lincoln, addressing his War Secretary with great dignity, 'I heard your charge against Captain Eckert. To my personal knowledge Captain Eckert is faithful to duty, competent in every way and worthy of the highest trust.'

"Instantly," continued Mr. Bates, "the atmosphere in the room changed. Eyes were glued on the embarrassed Secretary of War. There was only one thing for Stanton to do, and he did it.

"Picking up Eckert's resignation, he tore it to shreds. Reaching for the order of dismissal, which he already had signed, he destroyed that also. Facing Eckert and Lincoln, he said:

"I apologize to Captain Eckert for acting on insufficient information. Captain Eckert, you are no longer a captain. I shall appoint you a major as soon as the commission can be made out."

"This promise he made good the next day.

"That," continued Mr. Bates, "explained the bond between Lincoln and Eckert. The President deputized Major Eckert personally to act for him in

the notable Hampton Roads peace parley in February, 1865, at which Jefferson Davis was represented by Alexander H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter and John A. Campbell. Major Eckert did his work with the maximum of skill and ability. As is generally known here in New York, Major Eckert not long after the close of the war became president of the Western Union Telegraph Company.

"To-night, more than sixty years afterward," continued Mr. Bates, "I can see the thrilling drama in the telegraph office of the War Department, with Lincoln as the commanding figure. The flood of years has obliterated many things, but it has left Lincoln grander than ever. Charles A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War and later editor of 'The Sun,' said that Lincoln, in his judgment, was the least faulty of any man he ever knew. I agree with him. He was the wisest, most humane, most lovable man I ever met. I do not wonder that Stanton, on that dreadful 15th of April morning in the Peterson house across from Ford's Theater, as Lincoln breathed his last, claimed, 'Now he belongs to the ages!'



THE MONTH
AT GOOD SPEED'S BOOK SHOP
18 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts

VOL. XV, NOS. 8-9  MAY-JUNE, 1944

A conversational catalogue of books, prints, paintings, and autographs. Published nine times each year, from October to June, NORMAN L. DODGE, Editor

FOREVER FREE

THE rare and eminent piecee of Lincolniana shown on page 157 would have served admirably as "Set Piece" for an issue of *The Month*. It has in high degree the distinguished quality and immediate appeal which we look for in pieees that are to fill this rôle. There is only one objection to it for this purpose—like its author, it is too tall to fit on the page and leave room for a footnote.

This broadside Proelamation of Emaneipation, "beautifully printed on parchment paper" (as a famous early Lineoln collector deseribed it) and signed by President Lineoln and his Seeretary of State, William H. Seward, is one of an edition of fifty. The idea of publication came from Charles Godfrey Leland ("Hans Breitman"), an ardent admirer of the President and his Proelamation. In June, 1864, the United States Sanitary Commission (Victorian predecessor of the Red Cross) held a fund-raising Fair in Philadelphia. Leland had the happy thought of printing a few *de luxe* copies of the Proelamation to be sold for the benefit of the fair. In his *Memoirs* he writes:

"Because I had so earnestly advocated Emancipation as a war measure at a time when even the most fiery and advanced Abolition

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THE papers, such as the *Tribune*, were holding back and shouting *pas MONT* trop de zèle—and as it proved wisely, by advocating it publicly—merely as a war measure—the President, at a request of George H. Boker [poet, playwright, diplomat] actually signed for me fifty duplicate, very handsome copies of the Proclamation, to every one of which Mr. Seward also added his signature. One of these is now hanging up in the British Museum as my gift."

Of the remaining forty-nine, all but a very few are now permanently placed in national or private institutions. It is rarely that one appears even briefly in the open market as it passes from one fortunate collection to another. Though a wise dealer should learn not to go out on a limb, we do not hesitate to say that this Proclamation broadside ranks among the top three or four pieees of Lineolniana now known to as critical and informed a company of collectors as is. The third original autograph is that of John G. Nieolay, the President's secretary and biographer. Including margins, the broadside measures about 21 by 17 inches. \$1200.

SECRETARY SEWARD's son (and, for eight years, his Assistant Secretary of State), Frederick William Seward, in his *Reminiscences* records President Lincoln's remarks as he grasped the Proclamation pen on January 1, 1863. "I never in all my life felt more certain that I was doing right than I do in signing this paper. But I have been receiving calls and shaking hands since nine o'clock this morning, till my arm is stiff and numb. Now this signature is one that will be closely examined, and if they find my hand trembled they will say 'he had some compunctions.' But anyway, it is to be done."

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

AT GOOD-SPEED'S

A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever, free; and the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom."

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong counteracting testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, by virtue of the power invested in me as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaim for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States, wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: ARKANSAS, TEXAS, LOUISIANA, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemine, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans,) MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, NORTH CAROLINA, AND VIRGINIA, (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomack, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth,) and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if the proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this first day of January, in the year of our [L S] Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the President:

Abraham Lincoln

Wm. H. Seward Secretary of State.

A true copy, with the telegraphic signatures of the President and the Secretary of State.

Geo. B. McCrary For Sec. to the President.

ANTIQUARIAN BOOK NOTES

Aug 21 1947
Jacob Blanck

The 'Proclamation' Again

Our recent comments (June 26, July 10 AB) on the first printing of *The Emancipation Proclamation* has elicited the following statement from Ernest Wessen of Mansfield, Ohio's, Midland Rare Book Company. Mr. Wessen, as the trade so well knows, is an authoritative voice in all things relating to Lincolniana and his opinion, therefore, must be carefully considered. Says Mr. Wessen:

"Nearly fifty years ago Daniel Fish published his so-called Lincoln bibliography. Among other prefatory claims he stated that he had combed the collections of the British Museum, and the Library of Congress. These two claims have been exploded long since. Thus began an era of bibliographical charlatanism in the field of Lincolniana, the parallel of which will be found in no other field.

"For a time the field was plagued by the followers of the reminiscential school of bibliography; which relied upon such statements as: 'I bought my Herndon's *Lincoln* direct from Mr. Herndon himself, shortly after it was published, and it had the dated title-page.' Good sound bibliographical research scattered the ranks of that crowd.

"More persistent are the followers of the opinion school made up of those completely unwilling to do any solid research along bibliographical lines, but who unhesitatingly expound their opinions as to priority.

"These reflections are brought forth by AB giving currency to the statement that *General Order No. 1, 1863* 'has always been regarded as the first printing of the *Proclamation*' and by inference, that the true first edition was *General Order No. 139* of September 24, 1862.

"As a matter of fact anyone familiar with the so-called 'Preliminary' *Proclamation* of September 22, 1862, must know that *General Order No. 1* could hardly be the first printing of the *Proclamation*. As placed into effect the *Proclamation* was a military measure, to be enforced by the military, and to that extent, *General Order No. 1* is the first edition of the *Emancipa-*

tion Proclamation as put into execution.

"On the other hand, the purpose of the September 22, 1862 publication of the *Proclamation* was to announce to all concerned—the world, if you please—that the emancipation would go into effect on January 1, 1863. How was the announcement to be promulgated? By a general order to the military commanders? Certainly not. At this early stage there existed no exigency calling for immediate notification of the military. In due course, on September 24, via *General Order No. 139*, they received their preliminary advices which would prepare them for action on January 1.

"The *Proclamation* was dated September 22, 1862, and on that date it was first published, and an impressive document it is:

"Folio, 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Collation: p 1, CIRCULAR, Department of State, Washington, September 22, 1862, to the Diplomatic and Consular Officers of the United States in foreign countries, signed by William H. Seward, as Secretary of State; p. 2, blank; p 3, BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, A PROCLAMATION, continued on to page 4.

"The only copy I know of is in the superb Lincoln collection at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan."

There seems to be little doubt that Mr. Wessen's information settles all claims for priority. And now—won't the Lincolnians, once and for all, settle the ceaseless argument that begins: "Say, just who did write the Bixby letter, anyway."

For the Asking

The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia has made available, at no cost, the following papers:

"Printing Ink," by Karl K. Fisher, an address read before the Society, November 17, 1947; an historical account of the manufacture and use of printing inks.

"Why 79 First Folios," by Prof. Charlton Hinman, a paper read June 6, 1947; a discussion of the seventy-nine copies of the First Folio of Shakespeare in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.

ANTIQUARIAN BOOK NOTES

62 1948
Jacob Blanck

More On The Emancipation

Our good friend Thomas W. Streeter, collector and one of the committee that selected the Grolier Club's "One Hundred Influential Books," writes: "Mr. Ernest Wessen's interesting letter in the August 21 *Antiquarian Bookman* on the priority of issues of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation of September, 1862, would call for no comment if he had not gone further and gently chided AB for stating that General Order No. 1 of 1863 "has always been regarded as the first printing of the Emancipation Proclamation."

"There were of course two proclamations. The preliminary proclamation of September [1862] was an important document, but it merely stated that slaves in areas which were still in rebellion on January 1, 1863, would at that later time be freed—that is, where [there was] no rebellion on January 1, 1863, then in those areas no emancipation. The provisional character of what was outlined resulted in quite a lengthy document, with long definitions of what would be regarded as being 'in rebellion', qualifications about fugitive slaves, and the like. The definitive proclamation of January 1, 1863, which was chosen for inclusion in the Grolier Club's *One Hundred Influential Books* is the state paper which actually emancipated the slaves and ends with the noble statement: "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

"Thus far," concludes Mr. Streeter, "General Order No. 1 has generally been regarded as the first printing of this [sic] proclamation though further research may well bring earlier printings to light."

On which note this department stands ready to act as intermediary for either side in the debate. In fact we'll go further; we'll act for *both sides* in the argument provided, of course, that AB gets first serial rights to the text of the debate.

Aldrich's "Peck's Bad Boy"

One of our correspondents (and since he lives not too far from the Borough of Brooklyn he has asked us to keep his name out of this) sent us the following clipping from the *New York Herald-Tribune* of September 16th. He suggests that we caption the paragraph "Who Said Brooklyn Ain't Cultured?", a request we must refuse because it ain't nice to point. At any rate, and without comment, herewith the paragraph:

"Hank Behrman will have a 'day' at Ebbets Field Saturday and among other gifts the rubber-armed right-hander from St. Albans will receive will be a first-edition [sic] copy of Thomas Bailey Aldrich's *Peck's Bad Boy*."

With The Erratum Slip

An erratum slip has been issued for Storm and Peckham's "Invitation to Book Collecting" which careful readers of that work should insert at the proper place. It reads: "Erratum Tardus. Mating season, 1948. The nest of the bristle-thighed curlew having been found in Alaska (not by friends of ours), Mr. Storm withdraws his smashing simile in the opening sentence of *Invitation to Book Collecting* (Bowker, N. Y., still \$5). He is trying to think of a new comparison."

The importance of this statement is so obvious that AB considers it a duty to pass it on to all readers. Unfortunately the slip was issued, not by the R. R. Bowker Company, but by an obscure press in (we suspect) the Midwest, and therefore copies of the slip cannot be furnished by this office. Interested persons may request copies of Mr. Colton Storm, the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

We are frank enough to admit that we doubt Mr. Storm's ability to supply readers with the slip but suggest that the request be made anyway.

We hope that all this doesn't sound like an advertisement for "Invitation to Book Collecting" (it isn't meant to be) but the book is, as Paul Angle says, one that "collectors will want . . . as a matter of course."

architect Leon Baptista Alberti, is a magnificent book, freely illustrated with fine copperplates. And except for a neat marginal repair to the portrait of Alberti the present copy is in quite exceptional condition.

190. LEONCAVALLO, R. *Pagliacci*. Dramma in Due Atti. Milan, 1893. 4to, half red levant, g.t., other edges uncut. \$95

First edition, piano and vocal score, a fine copy, with the wrappers preserved, of this uncommon score.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

191. LINCOLN, ABRAHAM. Proclamation of Emancipation by the President of the United States. Whereas, in the twenty-second day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, etc. (a) The accepted and probable first printing, as *General Order Number One*, in a 12mo, bound volume of *General Orders*. (b) The broadside printing, done for Charles Godfrey Leland (one of 12 copies located), at some uncertain date but probably preceding the final broadside form which was signed by Lincoln. Together: \$1,500

Vincent Starrett, Paul M. Angle, and others, have considered this broadside printing of the Emancipation Proclamation a bibliographical find of the "first magnitude." For a contrary opinion of both the broadsides' and general orders' bibliographical importance and commercial value see: *Hudibrastic Aspects of Some Editions of the Emancipation Proclamation*, by Randolph George Adams, in *To Dr. R* (Philadelphia, 1946, pp. 10-17) where the *identical copies* of the broadside and General Orders, No. 1, here offered, are discussed. No. 71 of the Grolier American list. Further details upon request.

ONE OF THREE KNOWN COPIES

192. —— Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865. [Washington, 1865.] 8vo, 4-page leaflet; text on three pages within a border of double rules. Slight tears in folds. \$1,000

"Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away . . . With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right," etc.

This magnificent example of English prose contains only a little more than 500 words. This is one of only three recorded copies, one privately owned, the other in the Library of Congress.

Southern History

The Union
Jan. 1992

Eman Pro.
Gen. Orders

GENERAL ORDERS, }
No. 1. }
WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, January 2, 1863.

The following Proclamation by the President is published for the information and government of the Army and all concerned:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That, on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever, free; and the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereto, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom:

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall, on that day, be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States;"

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-chief of the Army

Abraham Lincoln — Emancipation Proclamation

39 Abraham Lincoln — General Orders No. 1 — War Department, Washington, DC, Jan. 2, 1863 — 3pg imprint, published for the Army as follows: 'By the President of the United States of America — A Proclamation — that on the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, etc. — Abraham Lincoln.' 750.

40 Abraham Lincoln — the first Emancipation Proclamation — issued to the troops in the field — 4pg imprint 'General Orders No. 139,' War Department, Washington, DC, Sept. 24, 1862, 'A Proclamation — that it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of practical measures to the free acceptance or rejection of all Slave States may adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery, and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent or elsewhere, etc. — Abraham Lincoln.' 450.

The New York Times — A Decree of Emancipation

41 The New York Times — 8pg newspaper, New York, Tuesday, Sept. 23, 1862, with front page headline, 'A Proclamation by the President of the United States — All Slaves in States in Rebellion on the First of January next to be Free! Loyal citizens to be renumerated for losses including slaves!' An historically important issue, in pristine condition (never folded) and perfect for display 750.

42 Abraham Lincoln — A Proclamation — Respecting soldiers absent without leave — 4pg imprint, issued by the War Department to the Army in the field. 'An Act for Enrolling and Calling out the National Forces,' headed 'Executive Mansion, March 10, 1863 — I, Abraham Lincoln, do hereby order and command, that all soldiers enlisted or drafted in the service of the United States, now absent from their regiment without leave, shall forthwith return to their regiments.' 350.

Abraham Lincoln Calls for 300,000 Volunteers

43 Abraham Lincoln — 2pg imprint 'General Orders No. 302 — War Department, Dec. 21, 1864.' Calling for 300,000 volunteers during the last days of the war. The last draft! 'I, Abraham Lincoln, to provide for casualties in the military and naval service of the United States, do issue this my call for three hundred thousand volunteers, to serve for one, two or three years. The quotas of the States under this call will be assigned by the War Department, etc. — Abraham Lincoln.' 350.

The Springfield Directory — Listing Abraham Lincoln as an Attorney

44 (Abraham Lincoln) Springfield City Directory for 1855-56 — 64pg pamphlet, printed by Birchall & Owen, Springfield, Ill, 1855, listing Abraham Lincoln on page 25 as an attorney, located on the corner of 8th and Jackson Streets, and John Hay on Jefferson Street, William Herndon (Lincoln's old law partner) as mayor on Jefferson Street Lincoln is listed a second time in the Business Directory, along with 12 other lawyers and David Davis as Judge of the Circuit Court. Although this directory lacks the title page, it is otherwise complete and very exhibitable, as well as quite rare 750.

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God and the Proclamation — Sept. 22, 1862

By Allen C. Guelzo

Posted on September 22, 2011 6:58 PM

One hundred forty-nine years ago, Abraham Lincoln met with his cabinet to explain that he was about to release a presidential proclamation that would turn their world upside down. The Emancipation Proclamation would unilaterally, and without compensation, free every slave held within the territory of the rebel Confederate States, and pledge the U.S. military to assist any of those slaves in achieving their “actual freedom.” It would be, he predicted, “the central act of my administration.”

Lincoln had been sending frequent signals that he was contemplating such a measure, so the substance of the proclamation came as no surprise. It was the method that was new. With the gloom of a failing war hanging over his head, Lincoln cast emancipation in the form of a “war powers” proclamation, issued on the strength of his constitutional designation (in Article 2, section 2) as “Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States.”

The chief legal problem was that, in 1862, no one really knew what it meant to be a “Commander-in-Chief,” much less whether any “war powers” came with the job. And then there was the consideration raised by Secretary of State William H. Seward: What would a military proclamation of emancipation look like when the president’s military forces were at that moment reeling from defeat to defeat? Wait, he counseled, until the military victory has been won, and then send the proclamation forth from strength rather than from weakness.

Two months later, Lincoln had the victory Seward wanted, as the Union army pounded Robert E. Lee’s Confederate forces into retreat at Antietam, on Sept. 17, 1862, and so Lincoln prepared to release the proclamation. But Lincoln had something more to add. As he told his astonished cabinet, he had made a vow “to my Maker” that if the rebel army was beaten and “driven out,” he would send the proclamation after them, “and I am going to fulfil that promise.”

Abraham Lincoln was not normally a very self-revealing sort, especially on the subject of religion. But now, in what remains the most socially revolutionary document written by any American president, Lincoln threw aside his self-imposed restraint and proceeded to justify his proclamation and the freedom it bestowed on 3.9 million black slaves in terms of a private covenant he had made with God.

It is a peculiar moment — this uncommonly private man with so little personal religion of his own, presiding over a secular and enlightened democracy, and yet appealing to “the favor of Almighty God” as the rationale for what he called “the great event of the nineteenth century.”

But Abraham Lincoln was certainly no holy fool. In Lincoln, and in the Emancipation Proclamation, there is the glimmering of a fundamental truth at the bedrock of the American experience — that the scaffolding of our democratic politics may be religionless, and free from the fear of the likeliest forms of intolerance, but at the same time, the entire system is infused with a religious sensitivity to issues of right and wrong. A purely religious government becomes the theocracy of the mullahs; a purely secular democracy becomes the insipid play toy of power. The American experiment would be neither.

In this greatest of presidential state papers, Abraham Lincoln captured both the scaffolding and the spirit. The result was freedom.

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The Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Part I

BY ADMIN, ON SEPTEMBER 20TH, 2012



The first reading of the Emancipation Proclamation before the Cabinet. (Image Source: Library of Congress)

On September 22, 1862, shortly after the Union victory at Antietam, President Abraham Lincoln issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. Antietam had driven the Confederacy out of Maryland and gave the president the political strength to issue the proclamation. The *preliminary* Proclamation did not immediately put an end to slavery. Rather, it gave the South a hundred days' notice to stop the rebellion and return to the Union; otherwise, forfeit their slave labor. In spite of the president's order, the rebellion waged on.

signed by the president on New Year's Day of 1863. The immediate effects were modest, freeing thousands of slaves, including those who were held within Union states. However, millions were still enslaved behind Confederate lines and even exempted Union-occupied areas. The final Proclamation did provide the legal grounds to free those slaves living in Confederate states that were still in active rebellion against the Union.

Former slaves, newly freed by the Emancipation Proclamation were now able to join the Union Army and help the war effort. It is estimated that the Union forces added some 200,000 new soldiers to their ranks.

The Civil War came to an end in April of 1865. Although the Emancipation Proclamation did not free all slaves, it marked the beginning of a significant and necessary change in American history. While some slave-states moved slower to change, including exempted Union-occupied areas, little-by-little slavery was prohibited in these states. Finally, in December of 1865, the abolishment of slavery was achieved by the ratification of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution.

One of the greatest national treasures in the New York State Library's collections is an original, signed, manuscript of Abraham Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. The Library acquired the document in 1865. As the U.S. prepares to observe the 150th anniversary of the American Civil War, the New York State Library prepares to observe this unforgettable time in history by sending the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation off on a statewide tour. The tour begins on September 21, 2012 in New York City at the Schomburg Center. For more information about the tour, please visit:

<http://www.oms.nysed.gov/press/PreliminaryEmancipationProclamationExhibit.html>

The New York Times

Opinionator

SEPTEMBER 21, 2012, 9:30 PM

Lincoln's Great Gamble

By RICHARD STRINER

Countless school children have been taught that Abraham Lincoln was the Great Emancipator. Others have been taught - and many have concluded - that the Emancipation Proclamation, which Abraham Lincoln announced on Sept. 22, 1862, has been overemphasized, that it was inefficacious, a sham, that Lincoln's motivations were somehow unworthy, that slavery was ended by other ways and means, and that slavery was on the way out in any case.

The truth is that Lincoln's proclamation was an exercise in risk, a huge gamble by a leader who sought to be - and who became - America's great liberator.

Since before his election in 1860, Lincoln and his fellow Republicans had vowed to keep slavery from spreading. The leaders of the slave states refused to go along. When Lincoln was elected and his party took control of Congress, the leaders of most of the slave states turned to secession rather than allow the existing bloc of slave states to be outnumbered.

The Union, divided from the Confederacy, was also divided itself. Many Democrats who fought to stop secession blamed Republicans for pushing the slave states over the brink; some were open supporters of slavery. And if the Democrats were to capture control of Congress in the mid-term elections of November 1862, there was no telling what the consequences might be for the Republicans' anti-slavery policies.

The Emancipation Proclamation wasn't always part of the plan. Republicans, Lincoln included, tried push their anti-slavery program by measured degrees, since they feared a white supremacist backlash. That was what made Lincoln's decision to issue an emancipation edict, and to do it before the mid-term congressional elections of 1862, so extraordinarily risky.

In the first half of 1862, he had tried to institute a program of gradual and compensated emancipation in Delaware, Kentucky and Maryland, the slave states that had not fallen under the control of secessionists. But the border-state leaders refused to listen. So Lincoln decided in July that he would turn his attention to rebellious slave states, and there, in the name of preserving the Union, he would institute immediate and uncompensated emancipation.

In the months that followed, he worked to soften public opinion in the North - to get the public ready for the fact that he intended to free some slaves. In August, he wrote a letter to Horace Greeley, editor of The New York Tribune. This letter would soon become famous. Lincoln claimed that his "paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that."

This was a clever deception in light of the fact that no breach in the Union would have happened in the first place had Lincoln and his fellow Republicans not refused to admit more slave states to the Union. Lincoln's letter to Greeley was misleading; he wrote it in an effort to appeal to patriotic Unionists and get them used to the idea that he might start freeing slaves. What he hoped was that people would view the proclamation as a patriotic necessity.

Some observers got the point; Sydney Howard Gay, a leading abolitionist, wrote to Lincoln:

Your letter to Mr. Greeley has infused new hope among us at the North who are anxiously awaiting that movement on your part that they believe will end the rebellion by removing its cause. I think the general impression is that as you are determined to save the Union tho' slavery perish, you mean presently to announce that the destruction of Slavery is the price of our salvation.

Lincoln himself confided to Representative Isaac N. Arnold that, as Arnold recounted, "the meaning of his letter to Mr. Greeley was this: he was ready to declare emancipation when he was convinced that it could be made effective, and that the people were with him."

Others, however, concluded from the letter that Lincoln was hopelessly obtuse in regard to the moral issues of the war. Wendell Phillips, another abolitionist leader, called the letter a "disgraceful document" and asserted that Lincoln "can only be frightened or bullied into the right policy . . . He's a Spaniel by nature - nothing broad, generous, or highhearted about him."

In early September the deceptions thickened as Lincoln pretended he had not yet decided on the matter; he even played devil's advocate and told a group of visiting abolitionists that he was plagued with doubts about emancipation: "how can we feed and care for such a multitude," he asked a group of Chicago anti-slavery petitioners who visited him on Sept. 13. Once again, he was being deceptive; not only was he positive that he would take this step - the proclamation had been written already - but he was ready to act in advance of the November elections. He was waiting for a battlefield victory that would permit him to issue the proclamation from a position of strength. At one point he made this very clear to his listeners: "There is a question of expediency as to time, should such a proclamation be issued. Matters look dark just now. I fear that a proclamation on the heels of a defeat would be interpreted as a cry of despair. It would come better, if at all, immediately after a victory."

After Lee's invasion of Maryland was stopped in the battle of Antietam on Sept. 17, Lincoln made up his mind to go ahead. He later told a Massachusetts congressman that "when Lee came over the river, I made a resolution that if McClellan drove him back I would send the Proclamation after him." On Sept. 22, he read the proclamation to his cabinet.

The Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation is called "preliminary" because it was framed as a warning to rebels, a threat to take action by a certain date if they refused to lay down their arms. Lincoln warned that if the rebellion continued past Jan. 1, 1863,

All persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom."

The warning was clear: the rebels were risking the permanent loss of their slaves if they refused to lay down their arms by New Year's Day. Lincoln's armies would not only "recognize" the freedom of slaves, they would work to "maintain" that freedom.

When the proclamation was released to the press later that day, reactions spanned a very broad range. The black abolitionist Frederick Douglass complained that it "touched neither justice nor mercy. Had there been one expression of sound moral feeling against Slavery, one word of regret and shame that this accursed system had remained so long the disgrace and scandal of the Republic, one word of satisfaction in the hope of burying slavery and the rebellion in one common grave, a thrill of joy would have run round the world." The abolitionist Lydia Maria Child wrote that "it was done reluctantly and stintedly . . . It was merely a war measure, to which we were forced by our own perils and necessities." "How cold the president's proclamation is," remarked abolitionist Sallie Holley.

But other anti-slavery leaders were ecstatic. Theodore Tilton wrote that he was "half crazy with enthusiasm." Samuel J. May Jr. wrote that "joy, gratitude, thanksgiving, renewed hope and courage fill my soul." The Radical Republican Senator Charles Sumner wrote that "the skies are brighter and the air is purer now that Slavery is handed over to judgment." Horace Greeley editorialized thus: "Let the President know that everywhere throughout the land he is hailed as Wisest and Best . . . He re-creates a nation." The editor of The Pittsburgh Gazette called the proclamation "the most important document in world history." Even Frederick Douglass, despite his doubts, spoke words of praise for public consumption: "We shout for joy that we live to record this righteous decree."

On Sept. 24, some administration revelers met at the home of Salmon P. Chase, the Treasury secretary, an ardent

pre-war Free Soiler and a rival of Lincoln's for the 1860 nomination. "They all seemed to feel a sort of new and exhilarated life; they breathed freer," one of Lincoln's secretaries, John Hay, recorded. "They gleefully and merrily called each other and themselves abolitionists."

Some regarded the proclamation as an act of great political shrewdness. The editor of *The Boston Commonwealth* wrote that while "we complained bitterly that the President was slow," it was obvious that "his slowness has been the means of committing the whole flock of you to a rule of loyalty, which you cannot abandon . . . Those who do not stand by the Proclamation will be branded as those who would rather see the United States Government overthrown than the end of Human Bondage on this continent."

But others worried that Lincoln's proclamation might prove a political mistake. Postmaster General Montgomery Blair warned that it would "endanger our power in Congress, and put the next House of Representatives in the hands of those opposed to the war, or to our mode of carrying it on."

White supremacist Democrats vilified the proclamation. The *Louisville Democrat* editorialized that "the President has as much right to abolish the institution of marriage, or the laws of a State regulating the relation of parent and child, as to nullify the right of a State to regulate the relations of the white and black races." *The New York Express* excoriated the proclamation; no president had ever before "conceived a policy so well fitted, utterly to degrade and destroy white labor, and to reduce the white man to the level of the negro."

Lincoln's gamble was dangerous indeed. But he did what he believed he had to do. It was not, in the end, a political calculation. According to the diary of Navy Secretary Gideon Welles, Lincoln told his cabinet on Sept. 22 he had made a promise to God. "He had made a vow, a covenant," Welles recounted, "that if God gave us the victory in the approaching battle, he would . . . move forward in the cause of emancipation."

And so the stakes of the war would be raised to a level commensurate with all of the carnage and all of the sacrifice. The meaning of the war would be changed - forever changed - by Lincoln's proclamation.

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Richard Striner, a history professor at Washington College, is the author of "Lincoln and Race."

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BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever, free; and the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom."

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen therefor at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, by virtue of the power invested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Louisiana, (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans,) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomack, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth,) and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one [L. s.] thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the Congress of the United States, at its last session, enacted a law entitled "An act for enrolling and calling out the National Forces, and for other purposes," which was approved on the 3d of March last; and whereas it is recited in the said act that there now exists in the United States an insurrection and rebellion against the authority thereof, and it is, under the Constitution of the United States, the duty of the Government to suppress insurrection and rebellion, to guarantee to each State a republican form of government, and to preserve the public tranquility; and whereas, for these high purposes, a military force is indispensable, to raise and support which all persons ought willingly to contribute; and whereas no service can be more praiseworthy and honorable than that which is rendered for the maintenance of the Constitution and Union, and the consequent preservation of free governments; and whereas, for the reasons thus recited, it was enacted by the said statute, that all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and persons of foreign birth, who shall have declared on oath their intention to become citizens under and in pursuance of the laws thereof, between the ages of 21 and 45 years, (with certain exceptions not necessary to be here mentioned,) are declared to constitute the national forces, and shall be liable to perform military duty in the service of the United States when called out by the President for that purpose:

And whereas it is claimed by and in behalf of persons of foreign birth within the ages specified in said act, who have heretofore declared on oath their intention to become citizens under and in pursuance of the laws of the United States, and who have not exercised the right of suffrage or any other political franchise under the laws of the United States, or of any of the States thereof, are not absolutely constituted by their aforesaid declaration or intention from renouncing their purpose to become citizens; and that, on the contrary, such persons, under treaties or the laws of nations retain a right to renounce that purpose, and to forego the privileges of citizenship.

Now, therefore, in consequence of the apprehensions concerning the liability of persons concerned to perform the service, by such enactment, and to give it full effect, I do hereby order and proclaim that no plea of alienage will be received or allowed to exempt, from the obligations imposed by the aforesaid act of Congress, any person of foreign birth who shall have declared on oath his intention to become a citizen of the United States under the laws thereof, and who shall be found within the United States at any time during the continuance of the present insurrection and rebellion, at or after the expiration of the period of sixty-five days from the date of this proclamation. Nor shall any such plea of alienage be allowed in favor of any such person who has so aforesaid declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and shall have exercised at any time the right of suffrage or any other political franchise within the United States, under the laws thereof, or under the laws of any of the several States.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this eighth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand [L. s.] eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

(see item #304)

501. By the President of the United States of America. A proclamation. Whereas...a military force is indispensable, to raise and support which all persons ought willingly to contribute; and whereas no service can be more praiseworthy and honorable than that which is rendered for the maintainance of the Constitution and Union...all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and persons of foreign birth...between the ages of 21 and 45 years...are declared to constitute the national forces, and shall be liable to perform military duty in the service of the United States when called out by the President for that purpose.... Washington, State Dept., dated May 8, 1863. Printed on the 1st page of a 4pp folio sheet. Page 2 is blank, p. 3 has a blank printed letter designed to be filled out and sent to the various embassies in Washington. \$450.00

"The purport of this proclamation was to sustain and make effective the draft bill...and to define the position of aliens who had already declared their intention of becoming citizens. It was shortly after this that the draft riots broke out in N. Y. City...." (Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, by Nicolay and Hay. 100 years later has brought no improvement to the draft riot situation.

304. (State Dept. publication) By the President of the United States of America. A proclamation. Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States.... Dated at Washington, Jan. 1, 1863. Printed on the 1st page of 4-page folded sheet. Folio, very fine copy. \$700.00

The Proclamation of Emancipation

The document issued by Abraham Lincoln, as commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, January 1, 1863, declaring the immediate freedom of the great majority of the slaves in the United States. For a long time President Lincoln had resisted the appeals of the radical republicans for such a proclamation. He waited until he thought public opinion was ready for it, and until it might follow a victory and did not seem the desperate measure of a defeated combatant. After McClellan's unsuccessful campaign against Richmond he felt that the emancipation of the slaves was a moral and a military necessity, for its effect upon both south and north. Antietam furnished the victory he awaited, and on September 22, 1862, a preliminary proclamation was issued, decreeing the emancipation on January 1, 1863, of all slaves in the United States which should till then continue in a state of rebellion. In this he also stated that henceforth, as before, the restoration of the union should be the object of the prosecution of the war. The final proclamation, in view of its purposes and effects, must ever hold an important place in American history.

By The President of the United States of America.—A Proclamation:

Whereas, on the 22d of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the president of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to-wit:

"That on the 1st day of January, in

the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the executive will, on the first day of January, aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the states and parts of states, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any state, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the congress of the United States by members chosen thereto by elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such state shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such state and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States and as a fit and necessary war measure for repressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord

one thousand eight hundred sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of 100 days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the states and parts of states wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to-wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of Saint Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, Saint John, Saint Charles, Saint James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, Saint Mary, Saint Martin and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states, and parts of states are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self defense; and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the President:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

The effect of the proclamation on the legal status of the slaves gave rise to some discussion, but a solution of that problem became unnecessary, inasmuch as the work of emancipation in the United States was completed by the adoption of article XIII. of the amendments to the constitution; and the reconstruction of the states in insurrection proceeded upon that basis.



